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A  
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,  
FROM THE  
FIRST INVASION OF BRITAIN  
TO THE PASSING OF  
THE CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL IN 1829.

—  
BY C. ST. GEORGE.  
—

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*Fac-simile of an Engraving found amongst  
the Stuart MSS.*

26  
Elizabeth  
Abraham  
1711

**GENEALOGIE**  
*de la Maison*  
**Royale**  
**DE LA GRANDE**



# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

### ELIZABETH.

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day that Mary expired, Elizabeth ascended the throne. She was proclaimed without opposition, in Westminster-hall, and then in the church of St. Dunstons, in presence of the mayor, aldermen, and companies of the city. To a deputation of the council sent upon the new queen at Hatfield, she replied in a short discourse, in which she professed much humility, and that it was her duty to submit to the will of God, and to the aid of wise and faithful advisers. In this conduct Elizabeth suffered herself to be directed by William Cecil, chief secretary to Edward VI. He had endeavoured to bring himself into the favour of the late queen by a pretended conversion to the Catholic creed; but her suspicion of his sincerity caused her to treat him with reserve, and he had for some time been the confidant of Elizabeth, who was glad to avail herself of his services. She now appointed him her secretary; having retained in her council such of the late members as were most distinguished by their talents or their influence, she added to them eight others who were known to be protestants. Besides these Elizabeth formed a secret council, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who enjoyed the confidence of the queen, and had the entire conduct of the government. Notice was immediately issued to foreign courts of the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, "by hereditary right and the consent of the nation." The further instructions to the different ambassa-

s were suited to the polity of the courts in which they pre-  
ed: the emperor Ferdinand and Philip of Spain were  
ured of Elizabeth's intention to strengthen the alliance  
ween the house of Austria and the English crown. To the  
g of Denmark, the duke of Holstein, and the Lutheran  
ices of Germany, a confidential communication was made  
her attachment to the reformed faith, and of her wish  
cement an union among all its professors; and Carne,  
resident ambassador at Rome, was ordered to ac-  
int the pontiff she had succeeded to her sister, and had  
etermined not to offer any violence to the consciences of her  
jects, whatever might be their religious creed. But the ear  
Paul had been arrested by the previous insinuations of the  
nch ambassador, who made it appear that to permit the  
cession of Elizabeth would be to disannul the decisions of  
ment VII. and Paul III.; and the pontiff replied, that  
was unable to comprehend the hereditary right of one who  
s not born in lawful wedlock; that the queen of Scots  
med, as the nearest legitimate descendant of Henry VII.;  
added, if Elizabeth would submit the controversy to his  
itration, she should receive every indulgence that justice  
ld allow.

As Elizabeth, on Catholic principles, had no "hereditary  
ht to the crown," the new ministers urged their mistress to  
down a religion which pronounced her a bastard, and  
port the reformed doctrines which would give stability to  
throne.

After some hesitation the queen adopted the advice of the  
er; but as great caution was necessary, the measure was  
sued gradually, and in a secret manner; and Elizabeth  
balanced the hopes and fears of each party, that the matter  
s divulged by degrees, until every doubt was removed by  
roclamation forbidding the clergy to preach without a spe-  
l license, and ordering the established worship to be observed  
ntil consultation might be had in Parliament." The pre-  
es assembled, and agreed that it would be against their  
isciences to assist at her coronation, a right which was then  
sidered as necessary, previous to the sovereign meeting the

**Parliament.** At length the bishop of Carlisle separated from his colleagues, to perform the office of crowning the queen, she being obliged to take the usual oath, and to conform to all the rites of the Catholic pontifical. The absence of the prelates cast a gloom over the ceremony: the Spanish ambassador likewise refused to be present.

All things having been arranged, the new Parliament was summoned and opened, in the presence of the queen, by her new chancellor, sir Nicholas Bacon. Previous to entering upon any business, an address was offered from the Commons, praying the queen, "that she would vouchsafe to accept some match capable of supplying heirs to her majesty's royal virtues and dominions." This was a point on which the queen disliked any interference; and she replied, that at present she preferred a single life. What might hereafter happen she could not foresee: if she took a husband, her object would be the welfare of her people; if she did not, God would provide a successor. It was not for them "to draw her love to their liking, or to frame her will to their fantasy. Theirs it was to beg, not to prescribe; to obey, not to bind. She would therefore take their coming in good part, and dismiss them with her thanks, not for their petition, but for their intention." The main object of this parliament was the alteration of religion, which met with a vigorous but fruitless opposition from the clergy. The book of common prayer had undergone numerous additions and emendations in a secret committee of divines, selected by the new ministers, in which it was carried by a majority of three; it was therefore ordered to be alone used in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, deprivation, and death: the sovereign was declared to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things or causes, as well as temporal; and to possess all spiritual jurisdiction and authority within the realm.

Some months passed in regulating the ministry of the church. The bishops of Winchester and Lincoln were committed to the Tower; and the others (with the exception of Llandaff) who refused the new oath of super-

were expelled from the royal presence, with expressions of contempt and resentment.

Scotland, prior to the accession of Elizabeth, was, by the immorality of its clergy, especially prepared for the reception of the new gospel. The precepts of John Knox, with which he supplied the new missionaries, animated the zeal of the reformists, who, inflamed by the lessons of their teacher, wherever they gained power, the worship established by law; expelled the clergy, dissolved the monasteries and gave the ornaments of the churches, and sometimes the churches themselves, to the flames. The queen mother, to whom the earl of Arran had transmitted the regency of Scotland, dared not attempt a violent opposition, lest it should frustrate the expected marriage of Mary Stuart with the dauphin of France; and the reformers, to guard themselves from the advantages likely to ensue by this union of Mary with a Catholic prince, entered into a religious covenant. The subscribers, with the earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn at their head, assumed the title of "the congregation of the Lord;" bound themselves to strive to the death in the cause of their Master, at the hazard of their lives, to forsake the congregation of Satan (the established church), and to declare themselves opposed to its abominations and its idolatry. This schism lighted the torch of civil war in Scotland; but the alternations of success to each party shewed there existed as much worldly policy as religious fanaticism in the grounds of the quarrel. While Knox, who had returned from Geneva, animated the zealots with promises of supernatural aid, Cecil supported the hopes of the mos wary, with the prospect of an aid from the English queen. In the latter he was disappointed, as she hated the principles of Knox and the fanaticism of his disciples.

Henry II. of France, a prince of courage, liberality, and clemency, but who allowed himself to be too easily swayed by his ministers, had died in consequence of a wound in his eye, inflicted by the point of a lance at a tournament; and he succeeded by Francis II. Cecil chose this time to *undo his royal mistress* that she held a better claim to



the superiority of Scotland, than Mary had to the possession of the Scottish crown; and that, in the present case, self-preservation concurred with duty, since Francis looked upon her to be illegitimate, and esteemed his own wife the rightful heir to the English throne. Were the French monarch, he continued, to retain a footing in Scotland, Elizabeth could never enjoy security; were he expelled by her aid, she would attach the Scots to her interest, and might despise the efforts of her enemies. Thus Cecil extorted from the queen a reluctant and qualified assent; and thus was Elizabeth drawn, step by step, to act against her own judgment and her own inclination. In the first instance she merely consented to furnish them with a sum of money; but soon her fleet appeared in the Frith.

Cecil next employed the same spirit of intrigue to foment dissension in the French cabinet. With this view he commissioned Throckmorton to obtain a private interview with Antonie de Bourbon, titular king of Navarre. They met in the town of St. Denis, at midnight; he stated to the king\* “the esteem which the English queen entertained for his virtues; her wish to form an alliance with him for the honour of God and the advancement of true religion; and her hope, that, by mutually assisting each other, they might prevent their enemies from taking any advantage against God, or his cause, or either of themselves, as his ministers.” Antonie replied with caution, for he understood the object of this cant; and said, for his greater security, he would correspond with the queen himself.

In a few days the French king intrusted to the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, the chief offices in the government. The princes of the blood found their ambition disappointed; the king of Navarre, with his brother, the prince of Condé, and the three nephews of Montmorencé, formed an association, and secretly asked the support of the reformers throughout France. Throckmorton hastened to report their views to Elizabeth, who sent them

\* LINGARD, vol. vii. p. 391. }

urances of her support. Troops were raised among the French reformers, and a day of general meeting in the vicinity of the court was fixed, when it was intended to surprise the king and queen, murder the cardinal and the duke of Guise, and deliver the government into the hands of the French nobles of the blood. The conspiracy was defeated by the efforts of the duke de Guise. At this moment Elizabeth was urged to pursue hostilities in Scotland, and declared she would not withdraw her arms till every French soldier should be expelled that realm. She gave as her reason for this conduct, that the present ministers of France were her enemies, and she had resolved to disappoint their ambitious views. The queen ordered the siege of Leith to be executed with vigour, and then countermanded the order, saying, her ministers had extorted her consent to that which she knew must end in failure and disgrace. She afterwards applauded her foresight, as more than a thousand men perished in the advance and the retreat; and she compelled her secretary to return to Scotland, and extinguish by negotiation the flame he had kindled. While the treaties for peace were in preparation, Mary, the queen regent of Scotland, died, generally regretted by all who knew her, and respected by her enemies. Her death was shortly after followed by that of the French monarch, Francis II., leaving his queen, Mary, a widow at the age of eighteen. She persuaded herself that all obstacles were now removed, and that she might resume the government of her native kingdom, Scotland; which, when the English ministers saw her design, they determined to prevent. An agent was employed to remind the Scottish nobility of their obligations to Elizabeth, nor had the latter any reason to complain of their conduct. Many of the superior lords offered their services; Maitland (lord Lydington) promised to betray to Cecil the plans and motions of Mary and her friends; and the lord James, having been to France to assure his sister of his affection and obedience, on his return, through England, advised Elizabeth to intercept her on the sea, and make her a prisoner. Mary was importuned to ratify the conditions of a treaty between France and England, which her departed con-

sort, Francis, had shewn a reluctance to sign. She gave as an excuse for her denial, that her uncles had refused to give her their advice, and she waited until her arrival in Scotland, when she would consult the states, and act by their direction. This answer irritated Elizabeth; and when Mary asked her permission to travel through her kingdom to Scotland, she refused her request in terms of reproach and anger. Cecil justifies the queen's conduct. "So many reasons," says he, "have induced us to deny the request, that I think it shall be of the wise allowed, and of our friends in Scotland most welcome." These reasons were, that "the very expectation of the queen's coming had erected up Huntley, Bothwell, and her other friends, and that the longer her affairs should hang in uncertainty, the longer it would be ere she should have such a match in marriage as might offend the English court \*."

When Throckmorton waited on the Scottish queen to explain the cause of Elizabeth's conduct towards her, Mary ordered her attendants to retire; "that," said she, "if, like the queen of England, I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "Your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which will soon be cured—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband, or council, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When I have consulted the estates of my realm, I will return a reasonable answer. I only repent that I had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favour which I did not want. I came here in defiance of Edward VI., I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship: if she choose, she may have me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neighbour; for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine."

Mary did effect her journey to Scotland secure from the attempts of Elizabeth, who, following the suggestions of the lord James and others, the enemies of Mary, had sent a fleet

\* Hardwick papers.

as after her flight. All round in a tremendous fog, the Spanish galleons reached the land of her fathers, and with a glad and lightning heart entered the capital amidst the shouts and congratulations of her subjects.

At this time Elizabeth wished to maintain the peace between the two crowns of France and England, and to feel a sincere affection for her good brother the king of France. During the minority of Charles IX. the two religious parties, the Huguenots and the Catholics, perpetrated the most inhuman atrocities under the banners of religion. In order to obtain succours for the Huguenots, the envoys of Condé stole over to England, and paid a visit to Cecil in the night. The subtle minister found it necessary to excite the apprehension of Elizabeth, in order to obtain for the party an aid of ten thousand men and a loan of money.

According to the statement of Forbes, Cecil assured his royal mistress, "that, should Condé be subdued, the duke of Guise would form an alliance with the king of Spain; the son of the latter would then marry the queen of Scots; the next step would be to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England, and Ireland would be granted to Philip, as an indemnity for assisting to enforce the rights of Mary; and these proceedings would be followed by a decree from the council of Trent, which would excommunicate all heretics, and give away their dominions; the English Catholics would consequently join the invading army." Having roused Elizabeth's fears, as her hostile fleet cruised off the coast of Normandy, she issued a proclamation, in which she assured the natives she only meant to preserve them from the tyranny of the house of Guise. And when she refused to withdraw her army at the request of the French king, she said, it was the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression, and to accept with gratitude the aid offered him. The real object of the English cabinet could not long be concealed by such flimsy sophisms, and Condé was considered a traitor to his country. At the memorable battle of Dreux, both the prince who commanded the insurgents, and the constable who led the royalists, were made prisoners. The duke of

Guise assumed the command, and by superior skill won the victory.

In the autumn of that year the queen was confined to her chamber by the small-pox, and, after her recovery, an act was passed, though with considerable opposition, which imposed new and severe restraints on the professors of the ancient faith. This was followed by the promulgation of a national creed founded on the doctrines published by authority of Edward VI., with many omissions and amendments, and the addition of the thirty-nine articles as the standard of English orthodoxy.

The assassination of the duke of Guise brought the religious war in France to a conclusion. Elizabeth found herself duped in the advantages she had been led to expect in return for her assistance, and she was compelled to join in the treaty of peace. Her haughty mind could not well submit to the painful conditions which the circumstances required, and she betrayed her feelings in the presence of the French ambassador and the court.

To return to the subject of dissension between the queens of England and of Scotland :—An arrangement was proposed by their ministers that they should have a personal conference in some of the northern counties. Mary, who speedily forgot any injury done to herself, acceded most cheerfully to the proposal ; but Elizabeth, whether from jealousy of Mary's charms, or from apprehension that her presence might influence her partisans in England, declined the interview. Cecil urged, in reply to Mary's proposal of visiting her royal relative, that the rains had made the roads impassable ; that the queen's houses on the road between London and York were out of repair ; and that the necessary supply of wine, fowl, and poultry, could not be made in the short space of a month. The jealousy of the English queen was soon, however, called into action. Mary informed her she had received a proposal of marriage from the archduke Charles. This it directly became the business of Cecil to prevent ; and to that effect he formed two plans : the first was to bring Elizabeth forward as her personal rival, which he did by

employing the duke of Württemberg to solicit, as from himself, that Ferdinand would renew the suit from his son to the queen of England: but Ferdinand replied, that he should not expose himself a second time to the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth. Cecil then tried his other plan, to make the Scottish queen refuse the archduke. For this he commissioned Randolph to return, and read the queen a lecture on the recommendations necessary in the man whom she should select, telling her, at the same time, her sister was not displeased that she should entertain thoughts of marriage, though she herself preferred a single life.

To many it has been a matter of surprise that Elizabeth did not marry. Among her many suitors, her objections to Philip of Spain seem reasonable: that she intended to abolish the religion which he supported; and that the same degree of affinity existing between Philip and herself, as had existed between Henry VIII. and Catherine, she could not marry him without acknowledging that her mother had been the mistress, not the wife, of her father, and she returned a civil refusal. The former kind behaviour of Philip had left the impress of gratitude on Elizabeth; she always esteemed him, and kept his picture in her bed-chamber. To Philip, as a lover, succeeded Charles of Austria, the son of the emperor Ferdinand; opposition in religious principles formed the obstacle to his suit.

Eric, king of Sweden, was some time flattered with delusive hopes that he would have been a favoured suitor, and preceded his intended visit by a present to the queen of eighteen piebald horses and several chests of bullion, which present she very cheerfully accepted, but requested him to postpone his visit until she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony. He waited till his patience was exhausted, and then consoled himself with a wife of inferior rank to Elizabeth, but of superior beauty. The next was the duke of Holstein, who loved and was beloved. She made him knight of the garter, and granted him a pension for life, but could not prevail upon herself to make him her husband.

*Cecil it was for a time an object of his policy that*

Elizabeth should bestow her hand on the earl of Arran. Three of the Scottish lords came to solicit the queen's hand for the presumptive heir to the Scottish crown, but Elizabeth replied with her usual affectation, "that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage." Yet her pride took offence at their sudden departure, and she complained that, "while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time."

Of her English subjects the queen distinguished sir William Pickering with such flattering proofs of the royal favour, as made him appear for some weeks in the light of her destined husband; but he was forgotten in the attentions of the earl of Arundel, who devoted some years to his suit; and when he had expended a large portion of his fortune in making presents and giving entertainments to his royal mistress, and done violence to his conscience, being a catholic, in favouring the reformation, the queen cast him off with coldness, and often treated him with severity. But the person who at this period (1560) possessed the greatest share in the queen's affections was lord Robert Dudley: they were almost inseparable companions, so that the most scandalous reports were whispered, and believed; the more, as lady Dudley was not allowed to appear at court, and was compelled to reside in the lonely mansion of Cumner, in Berkshire, where she suddenly died by an accidental fall, if Foster the tenant may be credited; but under such suspicious circumstances as gave the public cause to say she had been murdered. This step being considered as a prelude to Dudley's marriage with the queen, Throckmorton undertook the office of informing her majesty of various reports concerning Dudley. During the recital she sometimes answered him with a burst of laughter, at others she covered her face with her hands, and, having heard him to the end, told him he had come on a very useless errand, as she had been before acquainted with everything, and felt thoroughly convinced of the innocence of Dudley as respected the death of his wife.

The marriage of the Scottish queen was still a subject of intrigue in the courts of England and Scotland. Elizabeth had shewn such ambiguity in word and conduct, and displayed such caprice in her recommendations and her refusals, that she at length proposed her own favourite, lord Robert Dudley, as a proper husband, to her sister; but Mary considered it beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject, and also hinted her opinion that Elizabeth could not well spare him. By the advice of her council, Mary had now refused every foreign suitor, and accepted lord Darnley, son of the countess of Lennox, which marriage would unite, with her own, the claims of the children of Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII. As he was, after Mary, the next heir to the crown of England, and was, moreover, an Englishman by birth, and could not, by his power or alliances, give any cause of suspicion to Elizabeth, it was expected this marriage would not be displeasing to that princess. On this occasion the capricious conduct of Elizabeth again excited ridicule: she forbade her sister receiving Darnley, then gave him a letter of recommendation from herself to the queen; and, as if reluctant that Dudley should give up the prize, created the latter earl of Leicester, that he might appear more worthy of royal favour. Mary was in no haste to marry Darnley; but a message from Elizabeth, desiring her to accept lord Leicester without delay, if she intended to pursue her claim to the succession, determined Mary to oppose the dictates of her sister, and she resolved to make Darnley the partner of her throne.

At the receipt of this intelligence the English cabinet employed Throckmorton to go and remonstrate with the Scottish queen. He went, and finding his threats and promises were useless, he stirred the disaffected lords to rebel against their sovereign. Murray, who had long laboured to fix the crown of Scotland on his own head, declared that "the profession of the evangel" was in danger, and retired from court under pretext that his conscience could not endure the idolatrous worship in the royal chapel. A plan was formed to murder the lord Darnley and his father, to imprison the



queen, and to place Murray at the head of the government. The conspirators were, however, disappointed; a person hinted to the queen that there was an intention of intercepting her on her road to Callendar; and, instead of going in the evening, she reached the place by ten in the morning; and on her arrival in Edinburgh she called on her subjects for aid against the insurgents, married Darnley, whom she had created earl of Ross and duke of Albany, in the chapel of Holyrood-house, and issued a proclamation, commanding that all writs should run in the style of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland.

The English ministers supplied Murray with money and men, though Mary had requested her "good sister" to be content with the government of England, and leave Scotland to its own sovereign. Mary succeeded in driving the rebellious lords from Dumfries, and they found an asylum with the duke of Bedford at Carlisle. When Murray presented himself before Elizabeth, he protested on his knees, that he was innocent of the conspiracy, and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign lady. "Now," replied Elizabeth, "have ye spoken truth. Get from my presence, traitors as ye are." Yet, in a letter, now extant, from Murray to Cecil, the former writes: "As for me, and the remainder here, I doubt not but you understand sufficiently, that neither they nor I enterprised this action without forfeit of our sovereign's indignation; but being moved thereto by the queen your sovereign and council's hand-writing, directed to us thereupon; which being followed, all those extremities followed, as were sufficiently foreseen."

From whatever cause queen Elizabeth's disinclination to marriage had sprung, the Scottish queen's alliance with Darnley seemed to have had the effect of changing her mind on that subject, and she now thought of selecting a husband for herself. Her own affection pointed to the earl of Leicester; but her minister, Cecil, brought forward so many plausible reasons, and contrived that his arguments should be so ably supported by the secret machinations of the whole house of Howard, that Elizabeth's selection became limited

to a foreign prince, and she had serious thoughts of the duke Charles of Austria. Meantime her sister Mary, whose ardent passion for Darnley had caused her to overlook the natural defects of his character, now found that he was capricious, violent, and vindictive; and that he had acquired such a habit of inebriety, as sometimes even to forget the respect due to his consort. But, above all, he was ambitious, and felt incensed against his queen, because she refused to secure to him by parliament the kingdom of Scotland during his natural life; and he directed his resentment towards her advisers, particularly to her secretary, David Riccio. This man was a native of Piedmont, formerly in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. At the request of that minister Riccio was made a page of the chamber, and on the removal of the French secretary, had succeeded him in that office. All the foreign correspondence passed through his hands; and, in addition, on the queen's marriage, he was appointed keeper of the privy purse to the king and the queen. His being a foreigner, and a catholic, caused his promotion to be viewed with jealousy by the courtiers and the preachers. Besides the fugitive lords who had fled to England, there still remained several of the conspirators in the Scottish court: these were all in dread of the act of attainder, which their rebellious conduct had merited; but, seeing the dissension between the king and the queen, they hoped to gain the former to their party, and, through the agency of George Douglas, suggested to the king that Mary had transferred her affections to Riccio; said it was to his advice he owed the queen's denial of the matrimonial crown; and advised him, as the certain way to obtain his just rights, to call in the aid of the expatriated lords. The inexperienced Darnley fell into the snare, and thus threw himself into the arms of his enemies. Two bonds were drawn, one by Darnley, whereby he engaged to prevent the attainder, to support their religion, and to abet their just quarrels: another by the lords, who promised to become friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies; to obtain for him the crown matrimonial for the *whole of his life*, and to take part with him "against all and

whosoever that live and die might." Darnley then entered into a third engagement to bring to punishment David Riccio, and divers persons who had abused the confidence of the queen, "to take them, and slay them, wheresoever it might happen; and thenceforth bound himself and his heirs to save scaithless all earls, lords, barons, and others, who should aid him in that enterprise." Meantime a report spread that the evangel was in danger; that Riccio was a secret agent from the pope, and that Mary had signed the holy league which, it was pretended, was to bind the catholic princes to exterminate the protestants by a general massacre.

The assembly of the kirk in Ediuburgh, the leading members of which were conspirators, obtained a proclamation for a general fast to be observed through the week in which the parliament was to open. The first business in the session was the drawing up of the law of attainder, which was intended to be passed on the following Tuesday. But, in the evening of the Saturday previous to that day, Morton got possession of the gates of the palace. Mary being indisposed, (she was in the seventh month of her pregnancy,) was at supper in her closet, with the commendator of Holyrood-house; and the countess of Argyle, Riccio, Erskine, and Beton, were in attendance. Suddenly the king entered from a private staircase, and seated himself by the queen, at the same time placing his arm round her waist. This act was immediately followed by the entrance of Ruthven, in complete armour, and other lords. The queen commanded Ruthven to leave the presence, but he replied, his business was with Riccio. The unfortunate secretary exclaimed, "Justitia, Justitia!" and sought protection behind his sovereign, but they were deaf to her entreaties. Ballentyne threatened her with his dagger, Kerr presented his pistol to her breast, and Douglas, with the king's dirk, struck over her shoulder, and left the weapon sticking in the back of Riccio. The assassins then dragged him into another room, and satisfied their vengeance, by inflicting upon him fifty-six wounds. That evening it was determined by the conspirators

to confine the queen in Stirling castle: but Darnley, on whom they depended, felt repentant of his conduct, and, with the queen, secretly left the palace, and fled to the castle of Lanbar, where eight thousand faithful subjects joined the royal standard, and accompanied Mary back to Edinburgh, from whence, at her approach, the murderers escaped to Berwick. Though Elizabeth had been made acquainted with the object of the conspiracy, and had supplied Murray with three hundred pounds, prior to his leaving Berwick, on learning the result she ordered the murderers to leave her kingdom; but the messenger was instructed to remark that England was long and broad, and that they had nothing to fear, if they did not provoke inquiry by obtruding themselves to the notice of the public.

Scotland being much divided by faction, the queen was removed to the castle of Edinburgh, where it was known she would be safe from any insult; and there she was safely delivered of a son. When Elizabeth was first informed of the circumstance, she appeared to be for a time absorbed in melancholy reflection; but when, the next morning, she recovered her presence of mind, she resumed her accustomed cheerfulness and dissimulation: she thanked the messenger, Sir James Melvil, for the expedition he had used in bringing her such agreeable intelligence. She congratulated Mary on the event, and she accepted the office of sponsor to the child. This birth of a king to Scotland caused the British Parliament to renew their solicitations to Elizabeth, that she would declare her resolution to marry, or consent to an actual settlement of the crown; and all parties looked forward to the succession being finally established in the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, in the person of the now born prince. It is extremely probable that such might have been the intention of Elizabeth, had not the indiscreet partiality shown by Mary towards James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, a man of profligate manners, but the head of an ancient family, proved detrimental to her cause. After the death of James, Bothwell, in his efforts to assuage the sufferings of Mary under the brutal conduct of her husband, had so com-

pletely wormed himself into her royal favour, that she raised him to the highest offices of power and trust, and followed his advice in all matters of importance.

The murder of Riccio, by staying the proceedings of the conspirators, had cooled the ardour of Darnley's ambition, and had rendered him an object of contempt to both parties. Mary formed a new administration, the chief ministers of which were Huntley, Bothwell, Murray, and Argyle; and, in direct opposition to the advice of her husband, she admitted Maitland to be of her council. He soon suggested to them the propriety of a divorce between the queen and Darnley; and even ventured to propose it to Mary. At first she listened willingly, but after more consideration she refused to adopt the plan, and said, "I will that ye do nothing through which any spot may be laid to my honour or conscience; and, therefore, I pray you, rather let the matter be in the state it is, abiding till God of his goodness put remedy thereto."

Disappointed in the plan of a divorce, the lords again consulted on the means to rid themselves of Darnley, and decided on assassination. They forthwith signed a bond, by which Bothwell engaged to commit the crime, and the others bound themselves to save him scathless from the consequences. Darnley had just recovered from the small-pox, and, for the benefit of the air, took up his temporary residence without the walls of Edinburgh, in a house belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, called the "Kirk of Field." There the queen frequently visited him, and often stayed the night. The conspirators took advantage of the queen's absence at a ball, to blow the house up with gunpowder in which Darnley slept. The explosion shook the city: the bodies of the king, and Taylor, his page, were found in the garden; and three men, with a boy, were buried in the ruins.

No question in history has been more perversely discussed than this; whether the Scottish queen was, or was not, privy to the death of her husband. Lingard, previous to an interesting detail of facts relating to Darnley's death, which he has given at page 481, in the seventh volume of his octavo

edition, has made the following remark: "That the advocates, as well as the accusers of Mary, have allowed the ardour of party to draw them into errors and misrepresentations; and that the progress of the historian is continually retarded by the conflicting opinions and insidious artifices of his guides."

Certain it is, had Mary followed the advice of her kinswoman Elizabeth, and brought the real assassins of her husband to justice, she would have done well; but her enemies took care that that letter, which did so much honour to the head and the heart of Elizabeth, should not be delivered to the unfortunate Mary until some hours after the trial of Boswell had taken place. Three days after that trial, which, by its dubious procedure, rather confirmed, than removed the suspicion attached to Bothwell, the lands forfeited by the associated lords were restored to them by the Scottish parliament; and the act for abolishing the papal jurisdiction received the royal assent, but with a permission for all Scotsmen to follow the dictates of their own consciences in their religious creed.

The next proceeding unfolds the most disgraceful part of the conspiracy. When Bothwell undertook to murder the husband, he demanded, as the price of his services, that he should marry the widow; to this end, twenty-four of the principal peers subscribed a new bond, in which they asserted their belief that Bothwell was innocent, and obliged themselves to defend him against all calumniators, with their bodies, heritages and goods; and they promised, upon their consciences, and as they would answer to the eternal God, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, as soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient. The next day he seized her person and conducted her to the castle of Dunbar, where he pressed his suit most earnestly, and gave for her perusal the bond which the lords had signed in his favour: nor did he cease his importunity, until, by force, he committed violence on the queen's person. From *Dunbar* he conducted her to the castle of Edinburgh. *Bothwell* there obtained a judgment in favour of a divorce from

his wife Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley ; and just one month after his trial he led the queen to the court of sessions, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave him the forcible abduction of her person ; the next day she created him duke of Orkney, and then was married to him by Adam Bothwell, a reformed minister, in the hall of Holyrood-house. Still the queen was a prisoner, and could not see any person but in the presence of Bothwell, who, by his imperious conduct, soon gave her cause to lament her indiscretion.

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## CHAPTER II.

### ELIZABETH (CONTINUED.)

HAVING seen the same individuals binding themselves, by their duty to the eternal God, first, to prevent the marriage of Darnley with their queen, then to raise that nobleman to the throne, and afterwards subscribe to his assassination, the reader will scarcely be surprised at beholding the same persons join in punishing the murderer whose deed they had promised "to reckon as their own," and thus transfer the sovereign authority to a regent of their own creation. In the pursuit of these events it is evident that the Scottish lords considered self-interest as paramount to every other consideration.

Scarcely four days had passed since the queen's marriage with Bothwell, when many of the lords who, hitherto, had favoured his cause, rose in rebellion against him, and conspired to take his life, and to depose the queen. They succeeded in separating them, and the confederates conducted the unhappy Mary to Lochlevin castle, where she was kept in confinement. When Elizabeth became informed of these events, she sent Throckmorton to Scotland, to ask of the lords the liberation of the queen ; to ask of the latter to forgive the offence of her subjects, and to ask of both, the

the infant prince might be sent to England, as the only place in which his life would be safe. Throckmorton was as much the agent of Cecil as of his sovereign, and beheld in silence the proceedings of the confederates to depose the queen: nay more, he secretly advised her to sign her "resignation of the crown to her son; to consent to the nomination of Murray as regent, and to the appointment of certain persons to act for him in his absence." Throckmorton, under the guise of friendship, wrote his opinion to Mary, that as no deed, executed under her present circumstances, could be binding, she had better affect not to hesitate; which advice caused her to sign the papers, without even knowing the whole of their contents.

The infant prince (then in his thirteenth month) was crowned and anointed; and Murray, who had been in France, hastened to Edinburgh. On his road he visited the captive queen, who, when told that he was at Lochleven, felt a ray of hope in the prospect of seeing him; as she entertained no doubt but that gratitude for her past kindness, in having granted him a full pardon of his former treason, and the restoration of his titles and honours, would have secured to her his protection for herself and her son. How bitter was her disappointment to hear from his lips only reproaches and threats! But these were succeeded by an assumption of kindness at their parting, out of mere policy, in order to draw from her a request that he would accept the regency.

When a few months had passed, the council resolved to pursue their original plan—which was, by accusing the queen of adultery and murder, to procure her death. The earl of Morton got possession of a silver casket, left to Mary by Francis her first husband, and which she had given to Bothwell. It was stated that when this casket was found upon Dalgleish, a servant of Bothwell, it contained papers in the queen's hand-writing, which proved her to have been privy to the murder of Darnley. As the authenticity of these letters has been a subject of much controversy, the reader is entreated to peruse note [P.] at the end of vol. viii. of *LINGARD'S History*, in which the arguments on that point are



stated with great fairness ; and clearly shew, to an unprejudiced mind, that the Scottish queen was much injured, as regarded these letters, by the misrepresentations of her enemies. This discovery was told to the chiefs of the party, and to queen Elizabeth. While preparation was making for the public accusation of Mary, she remained at Lochlevin under the jealous eye of Lady Douglas, mother to the regent, and formerly mistress to James V. The beauty of the royal captive, her manners, and her misfortunes, raised her many friends : among the latter, George Douglas, brother of the regent, determined on liberating her from her enemies. Assisted by Beton, a faithful servant of the queen, a laundress was introduced into her bedchamber ; Mary exchanged clothes with the woman, and, carrying out a basket of linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face. "That is not the arm of a washer-woman," observed one of the spectators. She was taken back to her prison, and George was compelled to leave the work of her liberation to an orphan boy, about the age of sixteen, who went by the name of little Douglas. After waiting impatiently five weeks, he succeeded in getting the keys of the castle from a table at which lady Douglas was taking her supper ; he immediately conducted the queen and her maid, Kennedy, through the gate, locked it after them, and threw the keys into the lake. George Douglas, with Beton, received them on the beach. Mary slept that night at Niddry, and proceeded safely to Hamilton castle, and there revoked the resignation of her crown. In a few days she found herself at the head of six thousand men.

On finding that Mary had escaped, the regent assembled his forces with amazing expedition, and the two armies met at Langside, near Glasgow. The number of the confederates was greatly inferior to that of the loyalists, but Murray obtained a complete victory ; and the unfortunate queen, being pursued by her brother and his partisans, rode sixty miles in one day ; and, in the emergency of danger, determined on seeking an asylum from her sister Elizabeth. Mary's friends advised her

strongly against the measure, but she relied on the protestations of friendship which had been made to her by the agents of the English queen. Although Elizabeth had declared to her foreign allies her determination to replace Mary on the throne, had forbidden her ambassador to be present at the coronation of the prince, and had refused to Murray the title of regent, yet her ministers were leagued with the enemies of Mary, and rejoiced at her arrival in England, because they thought themselves more sure of their prey. Cecil suggested the proposal of keeping her in confinement for life, as the mode most conducive to the security of Elizabeth, and the interests of the new religion.

Mary proposed a visit to Elizabeth, that she might acquaint her with the particular account of her misfortunes, the wrongs she had endured, and the calumnies which had been heaped upon her; but Cecil hinted to his sovereign, that she, being a maiden queen, could not in decency admit to her presence a woman who was charged with adultery and murder. Mary, on learning this opinion, expostulated with the dignity of a queen, and with a spirit becoming innocence. She remarked that the English queen had admitted the bastard Murray into her presence, notwithstanding the crimes of which he had been guilty, and yet refused to receive a queen and a relation, who felt, and was ready to prove herself innocent. "Let Morton and Maitland," she said, "the real contrivers of the murder of her husband, be sent for; it would give her pleasure to meet them before the queen and the nobility of England in Westminster-hall. In a word, let Elizabeth be neuter, she asked no more." The English ministers were bent on disgracing the rival of Elizabeth; and the wily Cecil, finding he could not so completely overcome Mary's dignity as to make her willingly submit to a trial, hit upon an expedient which was equally calculated to answer his purpose:—this was the trial of her enemies, who, if they could justify their conduct to the satisfaction of certain English commissioners, should be allowed to retain their estates and honours; *if not, should be abandoned to the mercy, or the justice, of their sovereign.*

The queen had been brought for security to Bolton castle, a seat of lord Scrope's. In the adjustment of preliminaries for this singular trial, the demands of the queen, and of the regent Murray, were alike granted to each; and, as they were contradictory as to facts, they form a convincing proof of the want of sincerity in the English cabinet. The course of intrigue practised between the "king's lords" and the "queen's lords," as the different parties were distinguished, caused the earl of Sussex to say, "These parties toss between them the crown and the public affairs of Scotland, and care neither for the mother nor the child, (as I think before God,) but to serve their own turns." Murray's party laboured to prevent the queen's return to Scotland. The conduct of the English cabinet favoured his party, and Elizabeth treated her sister not only harshly, but unjustly. Murray was encouraged to bring forward his charge, that Mary had been, "of fore-knowledge, counsel, and device, persuader and commander of the murder of her husband, and had intended to cause the innocent prince to follow his father, and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant." When Mary's commissioners asked, that, as Murray and his associates had been admitted into the royal presence to accuse their queen, she might also be admitted into the same presence to prove her innocence, the request was denied; upon which Mary withdrew her commissioners, and the conference ended. Most of those who witnessed it thought the victory was Mary's, but Elizabeth continued to retain her; and though the foreign powers complained of the injustice of imprisoning a crowned head, Elizabeth boasted of her indulgence, under a pretence that she had kept from the public certain documents, the knowledge of which would have rendered the Scottish queen an object of execration to her contemporaries.

For the purpose farther to ensnare Mary, it had been devised in the English cabinet to marry her to an English nobleman, and so prevent the chance of her return to Scotland. When Elizabeth sounded the opinion of the duke of Norfolk respecting such an alliance, he replied, "Madam,

that woman shall never be my wife who has been your competitor, and whose husband cannot sleep in security on his pillow." Notwithstanding this asseveration on the part of the duke, he was, some time after, induced to consent to the proposal, which was formally made in a letter to Mary, signed by Norfolk, Arundel, Pembroke, and Leicester; the letter contained many propositions regarding her restoration to the throne, the establishment of the English reform in Scotland, and divers other matters, to all of which she gave her assent, except the one respecting her marriage; "because," she said, "woful experience had taught her to prefer a single life;" but, should she sacrifice her feelings to their superior judgment, she should require that they should obtain the consent of Elizabeth. It was resolved that Maitland, who then was absent from England, should ask the consent of Elizabeth; and Norfolk, through the agency of the bishop of Ross, opened a correspondence with the Scottish queen: they believed Elizabeth to be ignorant of the business, but the secret had been disclosed to her from the first, and having invited the duke to dinner, she advised him, as she rose from table, "to beware on what pillow he should rest his head." The ominous allusion alarmed him; Leicester had promised to unfold the subject to the queen, but had delayed from time to time, till one day, when suddenly attacked with illness, as her majesty sat by his sick-bed he entreated her forgiveness for having, without her knowledge, endeavoured to promote a marriage between her rival and one of her subjects. The queen's affection for Leicester obtained his instant pardon; but she severely reprimanded Norfolk, and forbade him, on his allegiance, ever to entertain the project. Murray acted the traitor; he sent the duke's correspondence to the queen, and she ordered the duke to be committed to the Tower. While he and his friends were undergoing a strict examination, the attention of the ministers was called to repress a rebellion in favour of Mary, who to the generous and warm-hearted presented a suitable object for their chivalrous exertions: a young and beautiful princess drawn to the borders by the promises, and then imprisoned by the jealousy,

f a female relative, induced many to tender their services, and risk their lives to procure her liberty. Mary had new cause for apprehension in the appointment of two men, as her keepers, whom she knew to have been her sworn enemies. Really fearful an attempt would be made upon her life, she dispatched secret messages to the earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, and through them to others, who had made her the tender of their services. Dr. Lingard informs his readers, in a note, vol. viii. p. 53, “that before the insurrection the friends of Mary put a question to certain clergymen, whether the unjust arrest and imprisonment of the duke of Norfolk would not justify them in taking up arms in defence of their liberties, and of the ancient nobility of the realm. The opinions were divided. The countess of Northumberland, bent on procuring the captive queen her liberty, sought to introduce herself as a servant, with an intent, if she succeeded, to exchange clothes with Mary.”

The insurgents hoped much from a proclamation, calling on all persons professing the Catholic faith to unite in an attempt “to redress the national grievances, restore the ancient worship, and protect from ruin the old nobility of the realm.” “There are not,” says Sadler, “in all this country, ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty’s proceedings in the cause of religion. The Calvinists in Scotland practised their own creed in spite of opposition; in France that party had waged war against their sovereign, the queen of England had aided them with men and money, and it seemed reasonable that they also might draw the sword in defence of their religious rights.” During the contest the Scottish queen was removed to Coventry, and the earl of Northumberland, having fallen into the hands of the royalists, was confined in Lochlevin castle. “The countess,” says Lingard, vol. viii. p. 58, “with the earl of Westmoreland, Ratcliffe, Norton, Markenfield, Swinburn, Tempest, and the other exiles, were safe under the protection of the border clans of Hume, Scot, Kerr, Maxwell and Johnstone, whose chiefs set at defiance the *authority of the regent*, and the threats of the English queen. *These, in a short time, were all safely conveyed to*

the continent ; but their unfortunate followers in England felt the whole weight of the royal vengeance. All who possessed lands or chattels were reserved for trial, that the forfeitures, consequent on their attainders, might indemnify the queen for the expenses of the campaign. The poorer classes were abandoned to the execution of the martial law ; and between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district of sixty miles in length and forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire on the gibbet. The survivors were at length pardoned, but on condition that they should take not only the oath of allegiance, but also that of supremacy.

When satisfactory vengeance had been executed on the rebels, Elizabeth published her intention not to molest her subjects for religious opinions. Among Mary's friends, Leonard Dacres was most distinguished for his bravery and valour. Having got intelligence that an attempt would be made to arrest him on the charge of high treason, he went to Scotland, and from thence found an asylum in Flanders. The cause of Mary obtained, at that time (1570), a temporary ascendancy, in consequence of the death of Murray, who was shot in Lenlithgow, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, whose wife had become mad from the ill-treatment of a retainer of the regent.

Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, succeeded Murray in his office. This change caused the opinion of the English cabinet to alter. Elizabeth now began to apprehend that to retain the Scottish queen longer in England might be attended with many inconveniences : she, therefore, sent Cecil and sir Walter Mildmay with proposals to the captive queen, that she should relinquish all claim to the crown of England ; that she should not espouse any Englishman without Elizabeth's consent, nor any other person without the consent of the states of Scotland ; that the murderers of the late king should be brought to condign punishment ; that the young king of Scotland should be educated in England ; and *that six Scottish noblemen should be delivered as hostages to Elizabeth, for the performance of these articles.* Mary

assented to them all ; but the intrigues of Cecil contrived to blind the regent, and persuade him into a belief that matters were still unfixed, and advised him to send other commissioners who would adhere more faithfully to the interests of the young king, to treat with Elizabeth.

The bishop of Ross complained of the disingenuous conduct of the English council, who, he declared, had deceived his mistress with professions and promises, and Mary herself became convinced of Elizabeth's want of sincerity.

While these transactions were passing in England and Scotland, pope Pius V., finding that Elizabeth continued to be the professed adversary of the Catholic cause in Europe, prepared a bull, in which he pronounced "pretended" right to the crown of England, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. But the pontiff delayed to sign this instrument until he was informed of the failure of the insurrection in favour of Mary, and that upwards of eight hundred of the northern Catholics had suffered under the hands of the executioners. He then ordered it to be published. Copies of it were sent to the duke of Alva, and, by him, some were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador, in London, of which the father gave two to Felton, a wealthy gentleman, who maintained a devoted enthusiasm to the Catholic cause ; and he gave one to a student in Lincoln's Inn, and affixed another to the gates of the bishop of London's house ; for which acts Felton underwent the torture, and suffered the death of a traitor. "If the pontiff," observes Lingard, "promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence ; among the English Catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by incompetent authority ; others that it could not bind the natives till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power : all agreed that it was, in their regard, an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and



afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### ELIZABETH (CONTINUED.)

ELIZABETH, feeling some apprehension that the bull of the pope might be connected with a scheme of foreign invasion, was desirous to obtain its revocation. To the request, made with that view, by the emperor Maximilian, Pius replied, that in issuing it he had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause.

In this dilemma Elizabeth's ministers continued their former system of policy; and endeavoured to confine the attention of the kings of France and Spain to their respective governments, by urging the reformers to rebellion. Though the queen of England had loudly condemned the late intended outrage, planned by the Huguenot party against the French king at St. Denis, her ambassador Norris was told by Cecil to "comfort the insurgents and exhort them to persevere;" and they assisted the prince of Orange, who was secretly connected with the prince of Condé and the other leaders of the Huguenot party, all of whom believed, or affected to believe, that at the meeting which took place between the kings of France and Spain, at Bayonne, a league had been formed for the extirpation of the Protestants, though no evidence of such a league had been produced.

During the first two years spent by the unfortunate Mary in confinement, numerous plans were formed by the different parties without attaining any satisfactory conclusion; but in the Autumn of 1570, the friends of the captive queen got from Elizabeth a promise to fix the conditions on which she *would agree to the liberation of the Scottish queen.* Commissioners on this errand arrived from Scotland: Elizabeth



ordered Cecil and Mildmay to go to Chatsworth to treat with the captive Mary; but with these apparent signs of an adjustment, so many delays were contrived, and such capricious changes took place in the mind of Elizabeth, that Cecil, who had lately been raised to the peerage as baron Burleigh, relieved the perplexities of his royal mistress by a proposal of marriage to her majesty with the duke of Anjou, brother to the French monarch. The commissioners returned to Scotland, because, in case of marriage, no accord with Mary was requisite,—but this only proved an interruption to gain time. Elizabeth made it a condition of the matrimonial contract that Anjou should embrace the reformed faith; and the negotiation ended by the French prince declaring himself bound to refuse, what, otherwise, he said, it would have been his most ardent wish to obtain.

The parliament assembled and passed some new acts, which pressed so cruelly on the Catholics as to make it evident that there existed a strong desire in the cabinet to eradicate the ancient faith. The Puritans also became very obnoxious to the queen, who, by assuming the supremacy, had imposed upon herself the task of watching over the discipline of the public worship; which office she exercised by appointing delegates before whose tribunal, called the high commissioned court, inquiry was made into all such offences as were cognizable in the ecclesiastical court. Archbishop Parker was the chief commissioner; he, with his colleagues, had, by the queen's order, compiled certain regulations regarding the service of the church, and the conduct of the clergy, but the Puritans obtained the introduction of seven bills into the parliament-house, which had for their object a further reformation. At this the queen felt so much offended as to dissolve the parliament with a severe reprimand, “for meddling with matters, which,” she said, “were not within the capacity of their understandings.”

Philip of Spain, as well as the Roman pontiff, had, some months back, offered assistance to the Scottish queen. The latter *waited the result of negotiations* between her people and England, until driven to despair by the sudden interruption of the

conferences, Mary resolved to avail herself of their offer, and she sent Rudolphi, an Italian, as her ambassador, to Alva, governor of the Netherlands, and to the king of Spain, and the Roman pontiff. In England the duke of Norfolk, with many other Catholic noblemen, had laid frequent plans for the liberation of Mary, in order to replace her on her throne. Some letters of a correspondence on this subject between Norfolk and the duke of Alva were intercepted. Burleigh was ever the enemy of Norfolk, and the resentment of Elizabeth was, by him, roused at the duke's perseverance in his suit of marriage to Mary. The minister urged the necessity of making him an example, to warn the other friends of that unfortunate queen. Several treasonable facts were alleged against him, to which he replied by a declaration of his innocence; and had it not been for those insurmountable difficulties, which in that age attended the cause of any prisoner under a prosecution by the crown, the duke might have justified himself by proving that he had acted solely with a view of restoring Mary to the throne of Scotland, without desiring any detriment to Elizabeth, and without any reference whatever to the royal succession in England. The duke was arraigned before his peers, went through such a form of trial as his enemies thought most likely to procure the desired event of his death, and was by them condemned to suffer the punishment of a traitor. Twice Elizabeth signed the warrant for his execution, and each time remanded the order, for the queen declared herself averse to his death, as he was not only the chief of the English nobility, but he was also allied to her by blood. Burleigh, fearful that the duke's life would be spared, had recourse to his former stratagem to excite the fears of his royal mistress, by telling her, that until she applied the axe to the root of the evil, and that the Scottish queen should repose in the grave, neither the crown nor the life of her majesty could really be secure. But as Elizabeth still continued irresolute, the artful minister sought the aid of parliament; this interference, *however*, was unnecessary, as the queen had signed the *warrant a third time*, and did not revoke the command.

To Burleigh's suggestions relating to the Scottish queen, Elizabeth declared the strongest repugnance to put to death "the bird" (to use her own expression) "that, to escape the lure of the hawk, had fled to her feet for protection." But in this the parliament served his wishes, by resolving to pass a bill of attainder against Mary: the queen forbade the proceedings. They then brought forward another bill intended to render her incapable of the succession: this also the queen prevented; but she instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Mary, who replied to the commissioners, that in her project of marriage with the late duke of Norfolk she was free from any hostile feeling against her good sister. The death of Norfolk, and the proceedings of the parliament, disheartened the friends of Mary in England, and their number gradually diminished. Scotland was in arms; the archbishop of St. Andrew's had suffered on the gallows, by order of the regent Lennox; and the kingdom continued in a distracted state till after the death of Marr, whose life was sacrificed to the very great interest he felt in the welfare of his unhappy country. Morton then became regent; he, having always favoured Elizabeth's party, soon brought the Scottish nobles into a state of submission; and England was no longer troubled with its cabals. The treachery of Morton delivered the chivalrous earl of Northumberland into the power of the English ministry; he was beheaded at York for his services to the unfortunate Mary, who thus saw herself bereft of all her most active friends. During these proceedings Elizabeth kept up the appearance of amity with the French government, because she feared its influence if joined to the machinations of Philip of Spain. As a further proof of her friendly intentions to France, she consented to receive a new matrimonial negotiation from the duke of Alençon, the king's youngest brother, who was thought to favour protestantism; but the hopes of the ministers were soon checked by the following extraordinary occurrence.

Since the Huguenots had lost their commander, Condé, at Jarnac, they were headed by the young king of Navarre, though Coligni continued to be the ostensible director of their movements. He had come to Paris to attend at the ma

riage of the king, when he was met in the street by an assassin, who wounded him in two places, but not dangerously. The design of assassination was generally alleged, in the first instance, to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father; but Coligni himself thought, and so indeed it proved, that it proceeded from the queen mother. The threats of the Huguenot chieftains alarmed the queen, and, in a secret council, the king resolved to anticipate the bloody designs which were attributed to the admiral's friends. By the royal mandate Coligni's hotel was forcibly entered the following morning, and he, with such of his friends as were with him, perished; upon which the populace, who believed this to proceed from the treachery of the Huguenots, became infuriated, and massacred every Huguenot who came in their way. This murderous transaction was imitated in many of the provincial towns, and more particularly where the inhabitants had sustained losses by the Huguenots in their religious warfare through France. As historians have differed in opinion respecting who were the instigators of this disgraceful plot, the reader is referred to LINGARD'S *History*, vol. viii., p. 115: there he will find that the author, after a diligent perusal and comparison of the most authentic documents, says that admiral Coligni maintained accredited agents in most of the foreign courts that had abandoned the ancient faith, and ruled among his partisans at home with the authority of a sovereign prince. Monthly contributions for the support of "the cause" were poured into his treasury; officers were stationed in every province, and thousands of soldiers were always ready to hasten into the field at his call. His power rendered him an object of jealousy to the administration, and he had obtained an ascendancy over the mind of the young king, whom he rendered suspicious as to the designs of the queen mother. The young monarch's ambition was gratified, and his conduct caused the queen mother to tremble for her power, and she concerted with the duke of Anjou on the means by which to detach her son from his connexion with the Huguenots.

*Coligni had been in Paris only once since the murder of the duke of Guise, and now he came by the invitation of*

Charles to witness the marriage of his sister Margaret with the king of Navarre, by the request of the queen of England, who asked him to aid and instruct her ambassador, and chiefly to urge a war against the duke of Alva; on which subject the king's ardour had lately cooled, through the remonstrances of Catherine. The admiral offered the king an army of ten thousand Huguenots, and exhorted him to throw off the tutelage of an ambitious mother, who kept the sovereign in the background, in order to bring forward her favourite son, and perpetuate her own authority. These insinuations pressing on the mind of Charles, his words and behaviour warned Catherine and her son of their danger, and the assassination of the admiral was resolved upon.

When Charles heard that Coligni was wounded, he went to his hotel to visit him; and Catherine thought it prudent that she, with Anjou and Alençon, should accompany him. They found the wounded man in bed; and upon his requesting to speak with the king in private, the latter commanded his mother and brothers to retire to a distance: these were anxious moments to the queen, whose countenance shewed the consciousness of guilt; and, while labouring under a variety of painful feelings, she interrupted the conference by observing to the admiral, that silence and repose were necessary to his recovery. On her return in the same carriage with the king, she tried to extract from him the subject of their secret conversation; and having heard enough to increase her state of apprehension, after a restless night, the queen consulted with the duke of Anjou and her confidants, and their determination being made, they reminded the king, that the man who could offer a force of ten thousand men against the king of Spain, might as easily employ the same number against the king of France; they assured him that the chiefs of the party were then planning the destruction of their adversaries, and it was probable that, by only waiting till the next morning, their best friends, and his majesty himself, might be sacrificed to their vengeance; they implored his permission to anticipate the *cruelty of their enemies*, and to wreak on *Coligni and his friends* that destruction which they had pre-

pared for others. The young king struggled for some hours in favour of the admiral; but at length, overcome by the entreaties of his mother, he retired to his chamber in considerable agitation, exclaiming, as he left the room, that he hoped no one would be left alive to reproach him with so foul a deed. Four hours were passed in making arrangements and giving the necessary orders; the report of a pistol was the concerted signal; the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois instantly tolled, and the duke of Guise, with three hundred men, burst into the admiral's house, and the dead body of that unfortunate chieftain was thrown from a window into the street, while the duke of Nevers and the marshal de Tavannes, at the head of a troop of guards, rode through the metropolis crying "Treason." Companies of armed citizens, under their respective leaders, hastened to the work of blood; and the populace, whose passions were excited by the example of their superiors, and the circulation of the most alarming reports, imitated and surpassed the cruelty of the original murderers; so that the instigators of the massacre stood aghast at the multitude of the slain. This tragedy was repeated at Orleans, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse and Bordeaux.

In England, the news of this sanguinary transaction produced but one general feeling of horror; but it added weight to the arguments of Burleigh, who assured his royal mistress that, for her own security, it was necessary to put to death her rival, Mary Stuart. She listened with a willingness to follow the advice, but in such a manner as to conceal from the world that she desired it; and Killebrew was sent off toburgh with instructions to procure the queen's death in through the excitement of her own people. Under the aid of the earl of Marr, Killebrew found it would be easy to draw Mary into such a snare, the object of stratagem being to heal the wounds of his unhappy father; that when Mary should recover her liberty, she might live in unison with her son. But at the death of the queen, which happened so suddenly as to lead his friends to believe she had been administered, Killebrew employed

the English interest so successfully as to procure the appointment of Morton to the regency. He was the enemy of Mary, as well as the agent of the English cabinet, and his plans for the submission of Scotland, and the destruction of its captive queen, were seconded by the appearance of an English army in the port of Leith.

The unexpected death of Charles IX., in 1574, when France was in a state of civil war from the two religious factions of Catholics and Huguenots, called the duke of Anjou to the throne of France by the title of Henry III. The share he was known to have taken in the massacre of the Protestants rendered him an object of hatred to that party, and he was in danger of losing his life from the conspiracies that were formed against him.

The provinces of the Netherlands had been for the last three years in a state of revolt. The malcontents, under the tyrannical government of the duke of Alva, had thrown off their allegiance to Spain. Elizabeth, who dreaded everything that endangered the Protestant cause, encouraged the Flemings by giving them her protection; by that means she introduced improvements in various manufactories, of which England had hitherto been deficient: when, however, she saw the prince of Orange assume the government of Holland and Zealand, she became jealous of his intentions, yet they acted in apparent unison. Elizabeth permitted him to arrest the armed vessels of the insurgents within her dominions, and the prince at her desire expelled the English exiles from the provinces, and dissolved the seminary which the English Catholics had established at Douay. The stadtholder, in his war against Philip, had relied on receiving the aid of France; but when the distracted state of that kingdom deprived him of the hope, he adopted, as a last resource, the resolution of offering the protectorship of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, as the descendant of Philippa, consort of Edward III.

Elizabeth refused to accept the offer, but she proposed using her endeavours to effect some agreement between the prince of Orange and Philip, and with this view she dis-

patched sir William Colban to Spain ; but she was afterwards induced, from jealousy of Don John, the natural brother of Philip, and governor of the Netherlands, to form an alliance with the latter states, as the queen was alarmed with the report of a conspiracy in favour of the Scottish queen : nor was this entirely without foundation, as Gregory XIII., the successor of pope Pius V., was using his interest to restore the Catholic worship in England. When Elizabeth heard the rumour, she was induced to lend her aid to the insurgents, and paid with English gold an army of Germans ; assuring Philip at the same time, that she was only acting for his interest and the security of her own crown—an assurance which Philip thought it prudent to affect to believe.

To defend herself from the rebellion of her own subjects, Elizabeth adhered strongly to France, and listened attentively to the love messages brought by Simier, a man of insinuating address, from her former lover, Alençon, now duke of Anjou. So pleased was she with Simier's communications, that his presence roused the jealousy of the earl of Leicester ; and the latter, availing himself of the credulity of the times, pretended to believe Simier had made use of incantations and love-potions. To ruin Leicester in the eyes of the queen, Simier divulged the secret of his marriage with the widow of the earl of Essex ; and Elizabeth's anger caused such a contention between the two noblemen, as to induce her majesty to take Simier under her particular protection, and to confine Leicester at Greenwich. Having declared to Simier that she would never marry a man whom she had not seen, Anjou paid her majesty a secret visit, and his departure she ordered that the terms of the marriage be adjusted ; but her natural fickleness of disposition ; and after wavering for several months she contrived ives of delay until, by the death of don John, the at of the Netherlands came into the hands of the arma ; and after a severe conflict Philip was de- ive forfeited his right to the sovereignty of the Anjou was elected and hailed as the saviour of proceeding caused Elizabeth to put off



once more the proposed alliance, as, she said, such a marriage would involve her in a war with Philip, who, by the annexing of Portugal to his former dominions, had become the terror of the neighbouring princes. In lieu of a marriage with Anjou, Elizabeth proposed to her brother, the most Christian king, that they should form a league for their mutual protection.

The French monarch professed his willingness to sign such a league whenever Elizabeth should fulfil her engagement to his brother. The prince came by her invitation to England, and Elizabeth took occasion, in the presence of the foreign ambassadors and the English nobility, to place a ring upon Anjou's finger, at the same time saying, that she meant by that token to become his wife; and commanded certain of her bishops and lords to regulate the rites, and the forms of contract to be observed by each party at their marriage. Dispatches were sent to communicate this intelligence to the allies of England; and the union was celebrated in many places with the usual demonstrations of joy as if it had already taken place.

The morning following that ceremony Elizabeth sent for the prince, who with alacrity obeyed the summons of his supposed bride, but was greatly disconcerted to find her in tears, and to hear her say, that the prejudices of her people had opposed an insuperable obstacle to their union; and that, after a severe struggle between her duty and her inclination, she had resolved to sacrifice her happiness to their welfare. The cause of this extraordinary conduct arose from the contrivances of Leicester, Walsingham, and Hatton. They had secretly employed the ladies of the queen's chamber to represent, in exaggerated terms, the dangers to which females, at her period of life, were liable in child-bed: the objections of her subjects to the control of a foreigner were also repeated to her majesty; and, on their knees, they implored her not to stain her fair fame by an union with a popish husband.

When the duke returned to his apartment he threw the *ring from him which Elizabeth had placed on his finger*

the day before, exclaiming, that "Englishwomen were as changeable and capricious as the waves which surrounded their island."

During the remaining part of the duke's visit Elizabeth continued to bestow upon him the most unequivocal proofs of her affection, which caused many libellous publications to issue from the press: among these, the most offensive to her majesty was that written by Stubbs, of Lincoln's-inn, which described the marriage as an union between a daughter of God and a son of the devil. The pamphlet was burnt by the public executioner, and the author and publisher suffered the loss of their right hands in the market-place of Westminster.

The queen shewed sincere and deep regret for the loss of Anjou when he returned to his Belgian subjects; he promised to visit her again in a month, but his military exploits occupied a long period of time, and the failure of his ambitious views in trying to wrest the authority from the prince of Orange, caused him to retire into France, where he soon after died.

It seems now time to say something of Ireland, which, at the period of Elizabeth's accession, was under the government of the duke of Sussex, who in the last reign had called a parliament to establish the catholic worship, and in the present one had called another to abolish it. The people of Ireland, generally, were attached to the ancient religion, and they obeyed the new statute only where it was enforced by the sword. Among the natives Shane O'Nial, eldest son of the earl of Tyrone, claimed the chieftainry of Ulster, and presented his petition in person at the court of Elizabeth, in the dress of his country, and attended by his guards, who were armed with battle-axes, and wore linen vests dyed with saffron. The queen feigned to favour O'Nial's claim: after his return to Ireland he sometimes gave his services to the English government, and at others revenged his imaginary wrongs, as circumstances warranted; for he was generous though turbulent, and was feelingly alive to every species of *insult*. At length he broke into open rebellion; and finding

that he was in danger from his enemies, he sought an asylum among the Scots in Ulster, where he was basely assassinated at the suggestion of Piers, an English officer. By act of parliament, the name of O'Nial was condemned to oblivion, and his possessions, which comprised a good half of the county of Ulster, were vested in the crown. From that time continual insurrections burst out in the different counties of Ireland, and in vain did the inhabitants appeal for assistance to the kings of France and of Spain. But pope Gregory XIII. listened to their complaints, and published a new bull, in which he declared that Elizabeth had forfeited the crown of Ireland, as well as that of England; which bull Thomas Stukely and James Fitzmaurice offered to carry into execution. The former was an English adventurer, devoid of honour or conscience, who sold his services equally to Elizabeth and to the pope. Having obtained from the pontiff a ship of war, with money and men, he sailed from Civita Vecchia, to join his partner in the enterprise at Lisbon: but on his way he sold his services to Sebastian, king of Portugal, and perished at the battle of Alcagar. Fitzmaurice, a brother to the earl of Desmond, was an inveterate foe to the English government; he was wrecked on the coast of Galicia; and he, also being furnished with vessels by the pontiff, sailed from Portugal, and landed near Kerry, bringing with him a small number of Spanish soldiers, and a few exiles, with the celebrated Dr. Sanders as papal legate. His hopes were annihilated by the coolness with which his countrymen heard his solicitations, and he fell in a private quarrel with one of his kinsmen. His brother, the earl, who had hitherto made loud professions of loyalty, became suspected, and was shortly after pronounced a traitor. For three years the latter evaded the pursuit of his enemies; but a glimmering of light from a hut having one day attracted the notice of some of the party, they entered it, and found, stretched upon the hearth, a venerable old man, alone: he had only time to exclaim, "I am the earl of Desmond," when Kelly of Moriarty struck off his head, and sent it a present to Elizabeth.

*It being enacted into a law during this reign, that t*

queen's subjects should all follow the religious worship which she practised\*, the Catholics and the Puritans became alike the objects of persecution and punishment. Archbishop Parker defended the interests of the church with vigour. Grindal, his successor, and founder of the school of St. Bees,

\* LINGARD, in vol. vii. note N. p. 505, of his *History of England*, has given the following account of the difference existing between the catholic and the reformed churches :—

1. They both taught that there is but one God ; that in the unity of the Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; that the Son took to himself the nature of man ; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual ; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

2. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the Apostles, the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

3. They equally revered the holy scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1st. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old, church. 2nd. The former maintained that all doctrines taught by Christ and his apostles had been recorded in the Scriptures ; the latter, that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the sabbath, &c. had been taught by Christ and his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

4. Both agreed that "the church had a right to decree its rights and ceremonies, and had authority in controversies of faith;" but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the scriptures ; could not assemble in general council without the command and will of princes ; and when so assembled was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed not such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the scriptures, would so watch over his church assembled in general council, as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

5. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers ; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the whole church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical in the prince as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor to St. Peter, a primacy of order and jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.

6. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis on account of the merits of Christ ; but in this they differed, or, perhaps, seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

7. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both ; but the seven sacraments of the Catholics,—viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two,—viz. baptism and eucharist.

8. The most important points in which they differed regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught that in the sacrament "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, only after a heavenly and spiritual manner : the Catholics after a real though spiritual and sacramental manner." The former declared that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of scripture ; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of scripture. The first, that the *communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the*

in Cumberland, leaned too much to the Genevan theology, by which he incurred the displeasure of Elizabeth: but Whitgift, who came after him, acted in accordance with the desire of his royal mistress, and prevented any change in the reformed discipline. However, the sufferings of the Puritans bore no proportion to those of the Catholics, as the wealth of the latter presented an alluring bait to the persecutors, so that many families sought an asylum beyond the sea, leaving their lands to be seized by the crown.

The non-conforming clergy went by the name of queen Mary's priests, and exercised their functions in private houses, at the risk of themselves and their patrons. The deprived bishops were prevented from ordaining others to succeed them, so that the Catholic worship must have soon become extinct in the kingdom, but for the foresight of William Allen, a Lancashire clergyman, who proposed opening colleges abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the Catholics at home. The plan was approved and adopted by the contributions of foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies. Allen established himself at Douay, and succeeded so as in the first five years to supply England with nearly one hundred missionaries.

This success greatly irritated the English council, and they had recourse to Requesens, the governor of the Netherlands, with whom they made an agreement to suppress the

institution and command of Christ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

9. By the articles, the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin, than that which is offered upon the cross. According to the Catholics the mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

10. The articles condemned, but in general terms and without any explanation, the doctrines of—1, purgatory; 2, pardons; 3, the veneration and adoration of relics and images; and, 4, the invocation of the saints. The Catholics taught, 1, that the souls of men who depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there, "where nothing defiled can enter," are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation: 2, that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful, and to be retained; 3, that it is lawful to shew an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints; 4, that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, "to beg for us benefits from God, through his son Jesus Christ, our only saviour and redeemer."

college ; in return for which Elizabeth excluded the insurgent navy from entering her ports. The fugitives who were thus banished from Douay, found protection under the princes of the house of Guise ; and Dr. Allen was soon re-established at Rheims, under the archbishop cardinal of Lorrain.

At length Elizabeth's council resolved on arresting the zeal of the priests by the terror of punishment : they accused Cuthbert Maine with having obtained a bull from Rome, of having denied the supremacy of the queen, and said mass in the house of Mr. Tregian. No material evidence being produced on the trial, the court informed the jury that proof might be supplied by strong presumptions. Maine suffered as a traitor, at Launceston. The queen took possession of Tregian's lands, and he languished till his death in a prison. The fate of Maine and Tregian was intended as a warning to the non-conformists ; but experience has proved in all ages that persecution serves to increase the ardour of religious zeal. Two Jesuits, named Persons and Campian, men of distinguished merit and abilities, at the request of Allen, came to England. Their arrival excited apprehensions in the queen ; and a proclamation was made by the council, which required every Englishman to recall any of his children, wards, or relatives, who had been sent abroad for education, within the space of four months ; and to make it treason to harbour or conceal a priest. It also enacted many other arbitrary and cruel laws against them. Persons and Campian wrote an explanation of their views in visiting their own country, for they were Englishmen ; but not wishing to publish these letters, unless they were themselves molested in their duties, each gave his paper to a friend : that written by Campian found its way to the queen and the council, through the zeal of a person named Pound, to whose custody it was intrusted\*.

The boldness with which the writer declared the intention of the jesuits to brave every danger in their endeavours to

\* It may be seen in BRIDGWATER, pp. 1, 2, 5.

restore the Catholic faith gave great offence, and stirred the government to the adoption of increased severities towards the whole body of the Catholics. Their houses were forcibly entered ; private papers, and even the persons of the inmates were searched ; and wherever any vestments belonging to a priest, or books containing the Catholic doctrine, were found, the possessors were imprisoned, and frequently subjected to the torture, a mode of punishment then used in most European nations, and which is thus described by LINGARD, vol. viii. Note U., p. 521.

“ The kinds of torture employed in the Tower were :—

“ 1. The rack, a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor : his wrists and ancles were attached by cords by two rollers at the ends of the frame ; these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put ; and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.

“ 2. The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders, and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that, from excess of compression, the blood started from the nostrils ; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.

“ 3. Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet.

“ 4. A fourth kind of torture was a cell called ‘ little ease.’



It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, or lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days."

During twelve months Campian eluded pursuit, but being then taken at Lyfford, in Berkshire, he was conveyed to the Tower, and having suffered the torture of the rack four times, was admitted to a private interview with Elizabeth, at Leicester-house, when, to her question of his opinion whether the pope could excommunicate her lawfully, Campian replied, that, "in his own opinion, if the pope were to excommunicate her it might be insufficient, as he might err. By his ordinary power he could not excommunicate princes. Whether he could by that power which he sometimes exercised in extraordinary emergencies, was a difficult and doubtful question, to which some persons had answered in the affirmative."

At length Campian and thirteen other persons were indicted for a conspiracy to murder the queen, and change the government. Circumstances, dates, and the places of their meeting, were particularly specified. Among the latter, Rome and Rheims were named; although some of these persons had never been in Rome or Rheims; and some had never seen each other before. But the public belief had been deluded by previous preachings and proclamations, leading their expectation to the event; so that, notwithstanding the inconsistency with which the trial was conducted, the prisoners were all pronounced guilty. Lancaster, a Protestant lawyer, made oath that Colleton, one of the number, was in his chambers on the very day on which the charge declared him to have been at Rheims; and Colleton was, in consequence, remanded. An attempt being made to save them all, Burleigh maintained it was necessary, in order to comfort the fears of the Protestants, that some should pay the penalty of their treasons: most of them suffered; all protesting their innocence, and praying with their last breath for the queen. The sect of anabaptists was equally the *subject of religious persecution*: three times, during the



reign, did Elizabeth order their absence by proclamation; and of those who remained, several ended their lives at the stake, as heretics. The last who suffered for heterodox opinions was Francis Kett, in 1589.

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## CHAPTER V.

### ELIZABETH (CONTINUED.)

DURING all this time the mind of Elizabeth was a prey to the most uneasy apprehensions, lest the Scottish queen should effect her escape and her deliverance. She hardly knew how to intrust any person to be her keeper; and while the captive Mary was committed to the care of the earl of Shrewsbury, his most trivial actions were under the scrutiny of all around him, who had been selected by the queen or her ministers; and whose most important business it became to act as spies on the earl; so that, on one occasion, it is asserted, he himself christened the child of which his daughter was confined, to avoid introducing a stranger into his castle. But so strong was Elizabeth's propensity to jealousy, that her favourite minister, Burleigh, was an object of her malevolent suspicions; and when he went to Buxton for relief from the gout, she accused him of going there to intrigue with Mary.

The people of Scotland found themselves much oppressed by the rapacious conduct of Morton, and his servile adherence to the interests of England; but, in a convention of the nobility, Morton resigned the regency, and the young king, who was then in his thirteenth year, assumed the government. After spending only a short period in retirement, Morton again returned to the court; and, though he did not again acquire the title of regent, his influence carried the ascendancy in the council; and being once more possessed of his former authority, he gave the reins to his avarice and to *his resentment towards the Hamiltons, whom he supposed to have been the cause of his temporary disgrace; but at the*

moment an unexpected rival awakened his jealousy: this was Esmé Stuart, count Aubigny, of the family of Lennox. He was born and educated in France, and, being young and accomplished, the duke of Guise considered him a likely person to detach the young monarch from his alliance with England. James was captivated with the young nobleman, whom he first made earl, and then duke of Lennox: the latter infused new sentiments in the mind of the prince, and he now perceived the deposition of his mother had been an act of injustice, and began to entertain very serious thoughts of resigning the crown to her, or, at least, of offering her a share in the regal authority.

When Elizabeth heard this, she sent sir Robert Bowes into Scotland, to accuse Aubigny, now duke of Lennox, of favouring the French, and to caution the young monarch from entering into such dangerous commotions. Lennox considered Elizabeth to be his enemy, and he resolved to undermine the English interest, and to ruin Morton, who he plainly saw was at the head of that party; and, with this view, he procured evidence from France, that Morton was an accessory in the murder of Darnley. Stuart, the son of lord Ochiltree, charged Morton with the murder, in the presence of James, who withstood the solicitations of Elizabeth, through her ambassador, sir Thomas Randolph, who was commissioned to intercede for his life, as well as to prove that Lennox had conspired with foreign powers to plan the invasion of England, and also to threaten Scotland with an English army. James continued to declare that he was bound in honour to let the trial proceed, and Elizabeth, finding that to allow her troops to remain in Scotland would be considered as an intentional act to prevent the course of justice, withdrew her army.

Sufficient evidence respecting the justice of Stuart's charge against Morton having been proved, he was found guilty by his peers, and decapitated, the king having remitted the more degrading punishment usually inflicted on traitors. His confessions in prison bore evidence to Mary's innocence of the murder of Darnley; for he says, "that when he asked

Bothwell for Mary's written consent, Bothwell replied, that such a note could not be procured."

After the death of Morton, Elizabeth's jealousy respecting the Scottish queen urged her to a final determination as to her destiny; and for this purpose she summoned her council, whose proceeding cannot be better described than by copying the following letter from Burleigh to Walsingham, dated Sept. 10, 1581. "The council has come to no conclusion, being as variable as the weather: for her majesty would come to no determination on any one point: so they left off talking for weariness, and the queen postponed all till some future time. They were long deliberating to what place the Scottish queen should be brought, where she and her cause might be heard. The Tower was rejected. The council then, unanimously, recommended Hertford castle; which the queen consented to for one whole day; and then changed her mind, saying it was too near London: then Fotheringay was mentioned, which she said was too far off: then, successively, Grafton, Woodstock, Northampton, Coventry, and Huntingdon; all of which were rejected either for want of strength or conveniency. The parliament will probably be dissolved, and a new one summoned for the 10th of October: but the queen wishes the hearing of the Scottish queen's cause to be finished before that day; but nothing to be done till her removal be determined on."

It will not seem surprising to the reader that the Catholics of England, who groaned under the penal statutes enforced by Elizabeth, should look forward to the prince who, in all probability, would in a few years reign over them, with a degree of cheering hope. Though James was educated by the disciples of Knox, yet the kindness with which he had received certain Catholic priests at Holyrood-house was construed by Mary and her friends into the most favourable disposition towards her cause; and it was resolved, in a consultation held secretly at Paris, that Mary and James ought to reign jointly as king and queen on the throne of Scotland: and, as James had expressed his apprehension lest he might be compelled, through poverty, to submit to the pleasure of



but Mary, aware that her keepers had orders to punish any attempt to escape by depriving her of life, acquainted them with her desire to leave the administration entirely on them, and to reside as a private person in England—a proposal which was refused; but another, from Mary, to form a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns, through the mediation of Castelnau, was received with great pleasure, but was afterwards frustrated by the intrigue of the French king, who feared, by freeing them from apprehension on the part of Scotland, to afford an opportunity to support the protestants in

Castelnau became acquainted with Henry's motives, thought it prudent to relax his exertions in defence of them, and thus her hopes were again doomed to languish in disappointment. Whilst rumours of invasion alarmed the Queen Elizabeth, a consciousness of the unjust treatment used towards her Catholic subjects, excited in her the uneasy doubts lest they should become disloyal. These added to the persuasion of her ministers, caused her to emulate with earnestness the death of her rival. Walpole, whose abilities were all-powerful in political employment, employed agents as spies in the courts of princes, in seminaries, and in the houses of the principal nobles, where, by a well-feigned adherence to the interests of the crown, they acquired a knowledge of the secret wishes and of her friends; and, according to Camden, it became impossible that her well-wishers should escape the snares which were everywhere spread for their destruction. During this period of political and religious persecution, Mary exercised his vengeance on all who had in any way offended his personal feelings; and through him several noble families were put under arrest. Francis Throckmorton submitted to the torture of the rack, and afterwards suffered on the gallows. In the course of his examination, Burleigh charged him, the Spanish ambassador, with having practised treason in England; but Mendoza recriminated by proving that he ought to have been brought by him against the

Discreet Persons hastened to Valladolid, and obtained  
 power of twelve thousand crowns from Philip for the use  
 of the Spanish king, while Creighton, another mission-  
 ary, proceeded on the same errand to Rome, and received  
 promise from the pope to pay the body-guard of James  
 for his master's service. These proceedings did not escape  
 the notice of the English cabinet. The promoters  
 of Elizabeth's agents soon organized a new revolution  
 in Scotland, which had for its object to get the person of  
 young Stewart into their power. Thus they effected the  
 escape of Gowrie, who invited the king to his castle  
 of Ruthven, and then, with his associates, assumed the exercise  
 of the royal authority. When James perceived himself  
 to be a prisoner he wept; upon which the master of Gowrie  
 observed, "Regard not his tears; better that boys  
 weep than learned men;" an expression which James could  
 never afterwards forgive.

When Mary heard that her son was a captive, she wrote  
 long, eloquent, and affecting remonstrance to Elizabeth,  
 of which the latter took no farther notice, than that it was  
 her business to take measures on her own behalf. However  
 Elizabeth and Henry of France had stood in mutual  
 enmity, but now ambassadors of Henry had arrived  
 at the Spanish court, to aid James in recovering his crown,  
 and bring escaped those who had presumed to attack  
 his keepers, he summoned his partisans to meet him at  
 Andrew's. Without any apparent reason, Walsingham  
 his ambassador at James's court. The monarch  
 agreed to receive him civilly, and replied to his treaty  
 government with reserve; so that Elizabeth  
 the disrespect shown to her ambassador  
 in taking the journey, "opening character of a  
 dispute with Elizabeth  
 had, to purchase  
 Mary's hopes were  
 in her son's  
 Spain were.

## ELIZABETH

more that her keepers had ordered her to  
sue by depriving her of the right to  
reside as a private person in her own  
house. But when she refused, the king  
perpetual enemy between the king and  
the king of Cambodia was the king of Cambodia  
but was afterwards transferred to the  
the French king who had a great  
preparation on the part of the king of Cambodia  
to support the king of Cambodia.

became acquainted with them. He was  
and to realize his career in the  
hopes were again unshaken. A  
Whilst numerous of his friends  
a consciousness of the importance  
her Catholic mission. He was  
test they should be able to  
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minister of Elizabeth, who, by his treacherous aid, aided the rebels, and, by means of pirates, plundered the subjects of his sovereign.

While the ministers were punishing the supporters of an invasion, for which, after the strict enquiry being made by Stafford, Elizabeth's ambassador to court, it was not found that one single soldier levied, or the smallest preparation made, the same were fomenting a real conspiracy in Scotland, to the means of English gold. For Elizabeth dreaded the acquisition of strength given to James by his connection with the duke of Guise, and his mother's party, might be too powerful for her throne, and therefore aimed to excite an English faction in Scotland. When her army, however, was in progress to assist the rebels, its advance was retarded by the solicitation of the French ambassador; and the duke of Guise, acting under the direction of Arran, his brother-in-law, succeeded in extinguishing the rebellious party.

At first the present prospect seemed favourable to Mary, but the English cabinet considered an amicable treaty with France to be the best mode of securing the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the French ambassador was fixed upon as the mediator between the powers; but again was the cup of disappointment dashed from the lips of Mary. No sooner was the treaty entered upon, than the capture of Creighton, a Jesuit, and his countryman Abdy, a priest, caused their names to be brought as prisoners to England, and taken to London. Creighton, when in sight of the rack, disclosed the existence of the projected invasion. Immediately the energetic captive queen added to the apprehensions of Elizabeth. A plan of association was proposed, in which the nobles bound themselves to pursue, unto death, every person who should attempt, and every person in favour of whom they should attempt the life of their sovereign Elizabeth. It was evidently intended to give an opportunity for a pretext by which to justify the impeachment of Mary of Scotland. When read to that lady, sounded in her ears as her funeral

James at the age of sixteen was an adept in



ulation; a circumstance which, it is very probable, from his education, and from the manners of those persons who were employed in his own and in other courts. From the generous sentiments which usually accompany youth, James acted the hypocrite for the sake of expediency; and, by feigning a partiality to the Catholic religion in his communications with his mother, the duke of Philip of Spain, and the pontiff, he procured many presents; until finding that his sincerity began to be suspected, he resolved to try the same game with Elizabeth. His ambassador, who had professed the Catholic religion in Paris, being sent to the English court, was received by Elizabeth; but he attended the established world, and he betrayed to the queen the secrets which had been trusted to him in Paris. Having thus gained the queen's favour, he suggested a marriage between her majesty and a sovereign; and thus he obtained the object of his mission—a supply of money, with a promise of more for future services. In the next assembly of the English parliament, religious subjects occupied the attention of the queen, and several bills were proposed for the suppression of monasteries, and the reform of the clergy, most of which were carried in the upper house by the influence of the queen. At a most severe statute was enacted against the

By this, every priest of that persuasion who was in the realm within forty days was to be accounted a recusant. To harbour or receive a priest was felony; and youth as were sent out of the kingdom to be educated in Catholic seminaries, were rendered incapable of inheriting English property.

At the third reading of this bill, Dr. Parry, a Welshman, rose and opposed it in such bold terms as to be given in custody to the sergeant. The next morning, having heard his reasons, restored him to liberty. But, in less than six weeks after, he was charged with being guilty of high treason, and was conveyed to the

He was a Protestant, who had passed from the house-

hold of the earl of Pembroke into the service of and was employed by lord Burleigh as a spy; dissatisfied with the salary, he affected to be of the Catholic faith, and declared, in his ardour to save English Catholics from persecution, that he should be willing to kill the queen with his own hand, were he but permitted it were lawful to do it. Creighton, and others who believed his asseveration, assured him it would not be lawful. Parry received the like answer from other ecclesiastics in England. In France, he obtained an introduction to the nuncio, to whom he gave a letter for Como, the secretary of state, requesting the answer to be sent to England. Thither he hastened, and having declared to Elizabeth that he had been solicited by the pope to return, he promised to give to her the answer he should receive from Como, in testimony of the fact. The answer was a civil answer to a general offer of service. Parry had said that he was returning to England, and would atone for his past misdeeds by his subsequent service to the Catholic church.—Bartoli, p. 288. The indulgence in the answer, and which may be seen in Sadler, was such as was usually given to persons on their return, and was a remission of canonical censures for former offences. When he solicited a pension for himself, the queen replied, that Parry had done nothing to deserve a pension; so he returned to his former employment of a spy: in this vocation he formed acquaintance with Nevil, an exile of the house of Westmoreland, who received a bribe from government to watch the actions of jesuit Persons, during the residence of the latter in the country. These two impostors, having cemented their friendship in the science of intrigue, together arranged a plan to surprise the queen as she was riding out to take the air, waiting a fit opportunity to execute their purpose. The earl of Westmoreland died; and Nevil, who was his heir, thinking it might be a means of recovering his estate and family honours, resolved to betray the queen. He accordingly disclosed the whole

Mary suffered the punishment of the law. His conviction and the pope's supposed approbation of the crime, afforded a plea for justifying the penal laws now in progress against the Catholics; who vainly tried, by ample vindication of their loyalty, and protestations of their belief, that it was not in the power of priest or pope to give any man the power to do that which was sinful, to avert the miseries impending over them. Their petition was treated with contempt; and Mr. Shelly, of Michael-grove, in Sussex, languished out the remainder of his days in prison for only writing it.

From the period that the unfortunate Mary was made acquainted with the terms of the bond of association, she received an opinion that her death was fixed; and this notion was confirmed by the conduct of her son, who, in reply to her complaint of the treachery of Gray, had told her, that though she retained the regal title, she possessed no authority in the government of Scotland. Seeing she was abandoned by her son, the unhappy queen felt that she had nothing to preserve on his account, and therefore she petitioned Elizabeth for her liberty and her life, declaring herself ready to subscribe to her sister's conditions. Elizabeth treated the request with silent neglect, but she removed Mary from the protection of the earl of Shrewsbury to the keeper of Tutbury, Sir Amyas Pawlet, the creature of Leicester. All the friends of Mary, and even all who professed the same creed, shared her sufferings, and particularly the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, who, without committing a single crime, were sacrificed to the will of Elizabeth and the intrigues of her ministers. The first was condemned for high treason, the latter was murdered indirectly by the contrivance of Hatton.

While these transactions were passing in England, the right of succession to the crown of France had changed from the house of Anjou to Henri de Bourbon, king of Navarre; he, educated in protestant principles, conformed to the catholic religion in order to secure the crown, which otherwise might possibly have gone to the duke of Guise, who

possessed the abilities and the insatiate ambition of his family, and converted his religion, which was catholic, into a cloak for his disloyalty. When Anjou lay on the bed of death, Guise was exerting every nerve to supplant Henry in the succession. To this end leagues were formed, and treaties signed ; and Henry's uncle, the cardinal of Bourbon, was declared presumptive heir to the throne. The most powerful prince in this faction was the king of Spain, whose object in keeping alive the torch of civil war in France was, to give his general, the prince of Parma, an opportunity to conquer the Netherlands ; but the Belgians preferred the authority of England ; and Elizabeth, after refusing to account them her subjects, became their ally, and assisted them with men and money. Meanwhile the intrigues of the English cabinet had nearly subjugated Scotland to the power of Elizabeth ; while its fickle monarch, James, gave his friendship wherever it could obtain money. His want of firmness made Elizabeth suspicious of his sincerity, and she sent Wotton, a man of such insinuating manners as to conceal deep designs and dangerous artifices under an appearance of indifference, to watch the conduct of James, and obtain his confidence ; which Wotton did so completely, that he got from him a promise not to marry for the term of three years. He even went so far as to persuade the partisans of his mistress to seize the person of James, or confine him in the castle of Stirling, with intent to convey him to England. This plan, however, was detected ; and Wotton fled with speed from Scotland. The forgiving disposition of James still allowed him to enter into a treaty with Elizabeth, by which they agreed to support the reformed faith, and promised mutual assistance to each other.

At this time the favourite, Leicester, who was appointed commander of the queen's forces in the Netherlands, became the object of her dire displeasure. His ambition had led him, contrary to Elizabeth's orders, to assume, in the united states of Holland, the whole control of the army, the finances, and the courts of judicature ; and even sent for his countess, with the intention of holding a magnificent court. On hearing

this, his royal mistress swore that she would let the upstart feel how easily the hand which had raised his ambition could dash him to the earth. The conduct of Leicester became inexplicable; during three months he left to the ministers the task of soothing Elizabeth, as he himself did not deign to answer her threatening letters, but continued his princely course, trusting to the influence he knew he possessed over the heart of the haughty queen to reconcile their differences.

In martial warfare, Leicester proved but a weak general when opposed to Farnese; so that the balance of success, at the end of that year's campaign, was greatly in favour of the Spaniards. The members of the states met Leicester at the Hague with murmurs and complaints; and he publicly resigned the government, which, by a private instrument, he still reserved to himself, and hastened to the English court, whither he had been summoned by his sovereign, to aid her in the disposal of the accomplished and unfortunate queen of Scotland.

The friends of that princess, as well the exiles as those in England, had suffered their sentiments to be divided by the spirit of party. Morgan and Paget, who were the administrators of her dower in France, complained that the introduction of Jesuit missionaries into England had rendered the government suspicious; and that the cause of the Scottish queen had been injured by the interference of Persons and his brethren; while their opponents replied, that the real friends of Mary should endeavour to preserve her life, and should reject every plan that might endanger it. Thus also reasoned her relations of the house of Guise.

Against Morgan the queen of England had conceived so great a hatred, that she had been heard to declare she would give ten thousand pounds for his head; and when she sent the order of the garter to the French king, she desired to have the person of Morgan, which Henry not liking to refuse, he shut him up in the Bastille, and sent his papers to the queen. From motives of revenge, the Welshman sought the means of corresponding with the royal captive; this he effected by agents, whom he employed in England: but

Walsingham out-mastered Morgan in intrigue. He corrupted those agents, and by himself supplying the materials of their correspondence, contrived that Mary should be so involved in the plot, as to secure her for his victim. In this business the crafty minister made use of traitors, such as Gifford and Greatly, two priests of heinous character; but the most important emissary was Ballard: all were impostors who, under the appearance of serving Mary, received the pay of spies from Walsingham, and performed his business. They contrived a sort of under-plot, in which they engaged, as principal actor, Anthony Babington of Dethie in Derbyshire, a young man of good fortune, and possessing a strong mind and a chivalrous spirit. The enemies of Mary, in the vain desire of themselves of the latter to animate Babington's zeal in the cause, but thinking it one which might be attended with danger, he cooled in his efforts; but Gifford, who, in obedience to Walsingham, went to reside at Chertsey, conveyed letters to Mary, by bribing the servant of a brewer who supplied the family of Pawlet with ale. This Gifford was the bearer of a note to Babington, written in the cypher of Mary, in which he was gently reprimanded for discontinuing his services in her behalf, and requested to forward a package, which accompanied the note, to Chertsey. Babington, proud of the honour, wrote to Mary, and gave the commission of delivering the letter to Gifford, who hastened to take both to the secretary's office. There they were deciphered and copied; the answer underwent the same form. By those copies Walsingham was afterwards able to implicate Mary in the conspiracy, and thus she incurred the penalty of death. This event having been the chief object so desired by the minister, he did not wait to ascertain any certainty respecting the invasion of England, which was intended as the ground-work of the plot, but hastened to disclose the facts (which were in reality the result of his own contrivance) to his sovereign, who delayed not a moment in giving her orders for apprehending every person connected with the conspiracy.

The reader will learn, with some surprise, that Babington found an asylum in the house of Walsingham at the period of his arrest, though he was afterwards taken, with several

his associates, young men in affluent circumstances, hitherto kept from meddling in politics, and who, the machinations of Morgan, who sought to revenge on Elizabeth, and the policy of Walsingham, whose in the period of Mary's coming to England, was to bleed on the scaffold, would in all likelihood never thought of the crime for which they suffered. Pre- to arresting the persons of the conspirators, Mary confined in a chamber of the house of Tixal, where she prohibited the use of pen and ink, whilst her drawers were sacked by Pawlet, and all her papers seized.

At that moment the proceeding against Mary excites her untimely fate, and admiration at the magnanimity with which she met it. The principal charges against her are two.—To the first, that she had conspired with others to procure the invasion of England, Mary, without admitting its justice, maintained that she was authorised by law to seek her deliverance from an illegal imprisonment. But the second charge, of her having conspired against Elizabeth, she denied in the strongest language, with tears. The proofs adduced by the crown lawyers were copies of those particular letters before alluded to, which had been copied in the secretary's office—no originals were produced. Having heard them read, the queen declared that she had not received the one said copy of that which was in the name of Babington, nor knew of that which was said to have been her answer—she declared herself to have been ignorant until that hour: and she asked to be confronted with the conspirators. They, however, were kept out of the way;

their several peculiar circumstances, withheld ; with Elizabeth alone the last period of her fate rested. The sentence of her judges was announced in London by the tolling of the bells for twenty-four hours ; also by bonfires and other demonstrations of joy. But of all the proceedings in the cause of Mary, the dissimulation with which queen Elizabeth acted during the whole period of the Scottish queen's imprisonment,—a period comprising almost twenty years !—was the most extraordinary ; and it seemed to increase after the fatal judgment had been pronounced. From a feigned unwillingness to shed the blood of her kinswoman, the warrant was allowed to remain unsigned for two months ; for, besides the hopes entertained by Elizabeth that Mary's affliction might bring on premature death, she thought it probable that Mary's keepers, who had reason to know her anxiety to be freed from her rival, might deprive her of life by violence, in order to save a maiden queen the ignominy which the public execution of Mary could not fail to bring upon her. The person employed by James to intercede with Elizabeth for the life of his mother deceived him. While Gray delivered publicly the message with which he was entrusted by the Scottish monarch to Elizabeth, he said in her ear privately, "The dead cannot bite ;" and the still-ambitious Leicester continued the interpretation of the treacherous ambassador, by persuading her majesty that the right of succession alone prompted James to sue for his parent.

The hints thrown out by Elizabeth respecting the private disposal of Mary having proved unavailable, she signed the warrant, and gave it to her secretary, Davison, with orders for him to get the great seal attached to it ; telling him, in the same breath, with an ironical smile, "Go, and relate all this to Walsingham, who is now indisposed ; though I am afraid he will die with grief at the intelligence."

The queen yet entertained hopes of private assassination ; and by her orders a letter was sent to Pawlet and Drury, which stated, that "they might surely ease her of that burden." When Davison returned into the royal presence, and presented Pawlet's answer, in which he refused to do any-



thing inconsistent with the principles of honour and justice, the queen burst into a violent rage, and called Pawlet "a precise and dainty fellow, who would promise much and perform nothing; but others," said she, "will be found who are less scrupulous."

Darvon, puzzled how to act, delivered the warrant back into the hands of lord Burleigh, from whom he had received it. Burleigh called a council, who were unanimous in opinion that the queen had done all the law required; and Leicester intimating to them that the queen wished them to proceed without further consulting her feelings, the warrant was dispatched to Fotheringhay.

When the earl of Shrewsbury and the earl of Kent arrived in the presence of Mary, she listened to the reading of the warrant in silence, and with an unruffled countenance. After enumerating the wrongs she had suffered, she placed her hand on a testament which lay on the table, and said, "As for the death of the queen, your sovereign, I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it." "That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish testament, and of course the oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic testament," rejoined the queen, "on that account I prize it the more; and, therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath to be the more satisfactory."

Her request to have the assistance of Le Preau, her confessor, whom she knew to be then in the house, was refused. "This important night," continues the same author, "the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will, and of three letters, to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France, occupied the first and larger portion. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet, with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elpeh Curle, she prayed and read alternately; and sought for support and consolation in the lecture on the passion of Christ, and from a sermon on the death of the peni-

tent thief. About four in the morning she retired to rest, but it was observed she did not sleep; her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

At break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. About seven the doors were thrown open: the gentlemen of the county entered with their attendants; and Pawlet's guard augmented the number from between one hundred and fifty to two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory. Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow: they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and, turning towards them, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed; and the burst of lamentation, from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers; and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy me! was ever the man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be, when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England." Here his grief impeded his utterance, and Mary replied, "Good Melville, cease to lament; thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn; for thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee report, that I die a true woman to

my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May God forgive them that have thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward chambers of my thoughts; and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies." Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and queen." To Mary's request that her servants might be allowed to be present at her death, the earl of Kent objected, that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, and perhaps dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My lord," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy, were I woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent: when she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield; and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids Kennedy and Curle.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers: next followed Pawlet and Drury, and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent; and, lastly, came the Scottish queen, with Melville bearing her train. She was attired in the richest of her dresses, which is thus described: her head-dress was of fine lawn, edged with bone lace, with a veil of the same, thrown back and reaching to the ground. She wore a mantle of black printed satin, lined with black taffeta, and faced with sables, with a long train and sleeves hanging



herself again. Kennedy taking a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes: the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless: and at the third stroke her head was severed from the body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed that the features could not be recognised. He cried, as usual, "God save queen Elizabeth!" "So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough; while the fanatical earl of Kent exclaimed, "So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" But not a voice from the assembled multitude responded. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity.

The dead body was embalmed the same day. It was afterwards inclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months; it was then interred in the abbey church of Peterborough, but after her son James ascended the throne of England, he commanded it to be removed to Westminster Abbey. In person, all contemporary historians describe this princess to have been elegant of shape; and that her countenance was beautiful in features, and extremely pleasing in expression. Her complexion united the purest red and white, her hair was black, her eyes were of a dark grey: her stature approached to the majestic; and she danced, and walked, and rode, with equal grace. She had a correct taste in music, her voice was harmonious, and she played upon the lute with uncommon skill. Towards the end of her life Mary began to grow corpulent; and her long confinement, with the dampness of the prisons in which she was immured, brought on a rheumatism that occasioned a lameness in her limbs.

## CHAPTER VI.

## ELIZABETH (CONTINUED.)

ELIZABETH now completed the hypocritical farce she had acted so long, by a conduct which all historians have accounted odious, and which imposed only on a few of the most ignorant of her subjects. Under a pretence that the execution of Mary had taken place contrary to her intention and her wish, she suspended the ministers for acting in contempt of her authority: but theirs was a mere temporary disgrace; for she received their excuses, and soon admitted their return to office; with the exception of Davison, who was fined ten thousand pounds, and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. The whole of the fine was exacted from him; and though Elizabeth survived the unfortunate Mary seventeen years, she was ever inexorable to every petition for the liberty of Davison. When the reader considers that this man was privy to the desire of Elizabeth, that private murder should have been inflicted on her captive, it is no longer extraordinary that such evidence should have been kept in concealment.

Had Scotland been in a higher state of prosperity, had her revenue been better supplied, and her nobles unanimous, James might have followed the natural bias of his feelings, and have visited England with his vengeance: but convinced that he could not support a war alone, and that dependence on foreign aid was precarious, James had the prudence to suppress his resentment. Henry of France threatened to revenge the insult offered by the execution of a queen dowager of France, but this threat proved also powerless; since the civil wars in which he was engaged rendered it impossible that he should execute his menace: indeed, it must be owned that he felt a secret satisfaction in knowing that the head of the family of Guise was no longer in existence to strengthen the party which had so constantly opposed him. Elizabeth, by oaths, assured France of her innocence regarding the fate of Mary,

and thus afforded a plausible means for disarming the anger of Henry, who, very soon, and gladly, formed an amicable treaty with England.

The spirit of commercial enterprise, which had been excited under Mary, by the treaty she signed with Russia, greatly increased during the reign of Elizabeth. Expeditions were planned for the discovery of unknown lands, and associations were formed for the extension of trade, in which the queen and several of the nobility risked large sums, in the hope of bringing wealth and honour to the country. The illicit traffic in slaves was begun at this period, by sir John Hawkins, who made three voyages for that purpose to the coast of Africa, whence he crossed the Atlantic, and having bartered his slaves in the Spanish settlements, returned to England laden with hides, sugar, spiceries, and pearls. But having, in one adventure, encountered the Spanish fleet, Hawkins lost four out of the six ships he had with him, two of which were the property of the English queen; and Francis Drake brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. Drake was a native of Devonshire, and born of obscure parents; but having followed the impulse of an ambitious spirit, which was successful in some piracies he committed on the Spaniards in the Isthmus of Panama, from whence he obtained a sight of the Pacific Ocean, he vowed, if God granted him life, he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea. In England, Drake obtained the interest of sir Christopher Hatton, and other favourites of the queen, who encouraged the enterprise: her majesty staked one thousand crowns on the issue, and Drake sailed with five ships, manned with one hundred and sixty-four able seamen, from Plymouth; he entered the south sea by the straits of Magellan, took several rich prizes from the Spaniards, and fearing to return the same way with his rich booty, he directed his course to the East Indies, and then, after many dangers, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned to Plymouth, after an absence of nearly three years, bringing back only one of his five ships, laden with specie to the amount of eight hundred thousand pounds. Of this treasure one tenth was divided among

the officers and crew, another portion was given to the Spanish monarch, and it is supposed the remainder was shared by the queen, the commander, and the court favourites. Drake being the first person who completed the circumnavigation of the globe, Elizabeth conferred on him the honour of knighthood. In 1585 we find sir Francis Drake acting under the royal commission in the West Indies ; when he burnt the town of St. Jago, and plundered the Spaniards in St. Domingo and Carthagen. During several years Elizabeth had offered repeated insults to the king of Spain, and policy taught him to repress the feeling of revenge, which frequent injuries had excited in his mind ; but this necessary period of forbearance had served to sharpen more keenly the edge of his resentment. When the duke of Anjou had been driven from the Netherlands, and the conquest of Portugal had fixed the crown on the head of Philip, the latter turned his attention to the queen of England. The invasion of her country was the object of his thoughts ; and he spent five years in preparing for the expedition. He concluded that, as Elizabeth was the chief bulwark of the Protestants, could he subdue that princess, he should acquire the immortal fame of re-uniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. Though the Spanish monarch had declared war against the Roman pontiff, Paul IV., he now informed his successor, Sixtus V., that his object being to restore the papal authority in England, he solicited an aid of money from his holiness, with a renewal of censures formerly issued against Elizabeth, and he asked the purple for Dr. Allen. These requisitions were granted ; but the pope exhorted Philip to hasten his preparations. It was impossible that the English ministers could remain ignorant of the designs of Philip, and they prepared every means of defence which the parsimony of Elizabeth would allow. The severities exercised towards the Catholics now filled the breast of the queen with dread, for she grew doubtful of their loyalty : but as no sign of any disloyal project appeared, she refused to listen to the expedient of a counterplot which was suggested to her. She afterwards had great cause to rejoice at her own dis-



cernment, in having refused to stain her hands with their innocent blood: for they displayed the true patriotism of English hearts, and declared themselves ready to fight till death in her cause, against all her enemies, be they who they might.

Apparent negotiations for peace were brought forward by the agents of Elizabeth and Philip: in this measure England was supposed to be sincere, but the Spanish ministers wished only to obtain delay for the progress of their plans; and as soon as all was ready, the Spanish armament, known by the name of the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, united its forces in the Tagus, from whence it was destined to sail under the command of the marquess of Santa Crux; but the anxiety of that nobleman occasioned his death, and his place was filled by the duke of Medina Sidonia. In its course off Cape Finisterre a storm from the west damaged the fleet so generally, and so materially, as to cause a delay of three weeks, spent in repairing the shipping in the harbour of Corunna. They then again went forward, and on the 20th of July were seen advancing up the channel, in form of a crescent, which, as they moved slowly and majestically along, formed a most imposing spectacle: but, owing to boisterous weather, and some of the ships having suffered by the pursuit of the English, six days passed before the admiral could cast anchor near Calais. A particular account of the disastrous fate of this vast armament will be found by the reader in LINGARD'S *History of England*, vol. viii. p. 338, octavo edition.

When the duke of Medina terminated his ill-fated voyage in the port of St. Andero, on the 1st of September, he lamented the loss of thirty ships and ten thousand men. The king, his master, received the intelligence with fortitude and moderation, saying, "I sent my fleet to combat the English, not the elements." And he thanked God that the whole had not been destroyed.

During this critical juncture, queen Elizabeth shewed herself to be possessed of great courage. She anticipated certain success, and even spoke in positive terms of her intention to

accompany her troops to battle, which Leicester combated in the following manner:—

“As for your person,” he wrote to her, “being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, I cannot, most dear queen, consent that you should expose it to danger. For upon your well-doing consists all the safety of your whole kingdom; and therefore preserve *that* above all. Yet will I not that in some sort so princely and rare a magnanimity should not appear to your people and to the world as it is. And thus far, if it please your majesty, you may do: to draw yourself to your house at Havering; and to comfort this army and the people of these countries, you may, if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the camps and forts. And thus far, but no further, can I consent to adventure your person \*.”

About a fortnight after the receipt of this letter, Elizabeth appeared at Tilbury, mounted on a white palfrey, and rode along the ranks, while the soldiers filled the air with shouts of triumph. The once-formidable Armada was then buffeting the adverse winds on its return to Spain. On this account Lingard has omitted an extract of the speech which other historians have supposed to have been delivered by the queen to her soldiers on that occasion, from the improbability, he says, that she should exhort them to fight after the enemy was gone; though he allows it likely that such an address had been prepared, in case it should have been necessary.

Leicester had disbanded the army, and was repairing to his castle at Kenilworth, when his journey was arrested by a violent disorder, which increased so rapidly as to excite the suspicion of his having been poisoned. It quickly terminated his life, at a moment when the queen had created a new office, by which she would have invested him with almost royal authority;—this was lord lieutenant of England and Ireland. For thirty years this nobleman had been the favourite of his royal mistress, over whose affections he had held such a firm ascendancy as to keep her ignorant of his dissipated manners. As her counsellor, he abused her con-

\* LINGARD, vol. viii. p. 342.

fidence; for, in the advice he gave in the cause of the unfortunate queen of Scotland during the period of his government in the Netherlands, and in all the affairs of state, in which her misplaced partiality led her to consult him, he ever considered the furthering of his own ambitious plans, and his personal gratification, before the honour of his mistress and the ends of justice. Leicester was too mean to be noble, and too vain to be great. With all his faults Elizabeth exceedingly loved him; and in the dispatches of the bishop of Aquila, preserved at Simancas, it is asserted, that they had been secretly contracted to each other in the house of the earl of Pembroke. The queen lamented the death of her favourite with abundance of tears, but her grief did not absorb her love of money. She ordered his goods to be disposed of by a public sale, and claimed the amount as due to herself for the sums she had lent to him.

The three months following the defeat of the Armada witnessed a fresh persecution of the catholics; of whom about thirty suffered the punishment of traitors for the practice of their religion only, without a single accusation of disloyalty. Philip Howard, earl of Arundel, had been some years a prisoner in the Tower, and was now again brought forward under a charge of having ordered mass to be said for the success of the Spanish Armada. He protested, before the court assembled in Westminster-hall, that the prayers he had proposed to be said by himself and his fellow-prisoners were merely to ask the protection of heaven for themselves, as they had been threatened with assassination, and had no reference whatever to the invasion. By birth the earl was the first peer of the realm, and had always been considered the fittest person to head a party in opposition to government; this caused his death to be sought as a political caution. After an hour's debate, the peers pronounced him guilty of treason. His execution, however, was delayed through the persuasion of the ministers, who represented to the queen that to take his life would tarnish her reputation, and he was suffered to drag on a miserable existence for some years longer: ignorant of the mercy, he was in constan-

expectation of death, and was treated with such severity, as never, during his long confinement of nearly eleven years, to be permitted the sight of his wife and children, or of any relative. He died in 1595, not without a suspicion that he was poisoned. His body was buried with that of his father in the chapel of the Tower. A very interesting account of the behaviour and death of the noble earl, from which the following short extract is taken, will be found in note [c c], end of the eighth volume of LINGARD'S *History*.

“As he was a catholic, the chaplain deemed it a profanation to read the established service over the grave, and therefore began thus:—‘Wee are not come to honour this man’s religion; we publickely confesse, and here openlie protest otherwyse to be saved: nor to honour his offence, the law hath judged him, wee leave him to the Lord. He is gone to his place. Thus we find it true, that is sette downe in our owne booke, “Man that is born of a woman,” &c. The God hath laid this man’s honour in the dust. Yet, as it is said in the scriptures, “Go and bury yonder woman, for she is a king’s daughter,” so we commit his body to the earth, yet giving God hearty thanks that hath delyvered us of so greate a feare, and thus let us praise God with the son of Deborah.’” This was followed by the forty-ninth psalm, and the service was concluded with a prayer composed for the occasion. “Oh! Almighty God! who art the judge of all the world, the lord of lyfe and death; who alone hast the keys of the grave, who shuttest and no man openeth it; who openest and no man can shut, wee give thee hearty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee, in thy mercy to us, to take this man out of this world; wee leave him to thy majesty, knowing, by thy worde, that hee and all other shall reyse again to give an account of all that has been done in the fleshe, be it good or evyll, against God or man.”

Lady Arundel survived her husband several years, but she remained an object of the royal displeasure as long as she lived. During fourteen years, the period of Elizabeth’s reign after the defeat of the Armada, the most bitter enmity was exercised towards the whole body of her catholic subjects:

e of the lower classes were thrown into prison, among m several suffered torture and death for the mere practice heir religion ; whilst persons of property were sometimes pelled to pay more than their annual income in fines, were obliged for this purpose to sell their estates. A olic gentleman found no security in his house, since he exposed, on the visit of a friend, or the discharge of a ant, to the capricious visits of persons who had authority earch wherever the slightest cause of suspicion was even sed.

he fanatical proceedings of some of the puritans made a equally the subject of religious persecution as the ca- ics ; but all this time the queen maintained a despotic er in matters of this kind, and repeated her order to her iament (when on one occasion they moved for a reform he practice of the ecclesiastical courts) not to interfere in gs so far above their capacities. To prove her earnest- s, she commanded the arrest of Maurice, who was the rer of the question, and confined him for several years at bury. However, in consequence of James of Scotland ng professed himself partial to the doctrine of the pu- is, persecution ceased by degrees, and the separatists e allowed a comparative state of tranquillity during the r years of Elizabeth.

ince the defeat of the Spanish Armada, a thirst of military evement against the Spaniards pervaded the mind of the lish public. The queen encouraged this spirit, but de- d her treasury was too poor to sustain the expenses of a

An association was soon formed by the people, and an y of twenty-one thousand men, under the command of ris and Drake, sailed from Plymouth to avenge the insult ed to England by Philip of Spain. The young earl of ex had been introduced by his mother to the queen, and e the death of Leicester, had filled the post of favourite er majesty, who had made him master of her horse, had ed him with unmerited favours, and required his con- t attendance about her person. Without consulting the ure of his sovereign, Essex made a private journey to

Plymouth, and joined the expedition. No sooner was the queen made acquainted with his absence, than she dispatched the lord Huntingdon to fetch the fugitive to her feet; but he had already sailed in the Swiftsure to join the English force.

It was the queen's order that the armament should first proceed to Portugal, and endeavour to gain a party in favour of don Antonio, who contended with Philip for the possession of the throne of Portugal: but Drake would not be restrained by instructions, and he proceeded to Corunna, where he lost a number of men without obtaining a single advantage. In Portugal they were nearly as unsuccessful, but at their return their losses were concealed, their advantages magnified, and the public joy was expressed, that they had been triumphant over the pride of Spain; yet, of the number who left England on that expedition, not more than a third returned to their country.

When Essex came again to court, he found two rivals in possession of the royal favour: sir Walter Raleigh, a soldier of fortune, whom the queen made the companion of her walks, and on one occasion allowed him to place his cloak in the mire to be her foot-cloth as she stepped from her barge to the steps before Somerset-house; and sir Charles Blount, son of lord Mountjoy. The first retired from court to cultivate a grant of land given to him in Ireland; the second received, as a token of her majesty's approbation at a tilting-match, a queen at chess of gold, which he wore round his arm: this so irritated Essex, that he exclaimed, "Now every fool must have his favour." Blount demanded satisfaction; they fought, and Essex was wounded in the thigh; and Elizabeth was gratified by the circumstance, as she attributed the cause of their quarrel to her beauty.

The attention of England in 1588 was called to the extraordinary events passing in France. The French monarch, with a view to overawe his rebellious subjects, had secretly introduced a troop of soldiers into Paris, where, intimidated by the citizens, they surrendered to the duke of Guise, who became master of the capital. Whilst all was in a state of *insurrection*, Guise and his brother, the cardinal, were

assassinated by the treacherous contrivance of Henry. The streets of Paris resounded with cries of vengeance. The Duke of Mayenne, third brother of Guise, assumed the exercise of the royal authority, and the king sought the protection of the king of Navarre. The right to depose and punish a tyrannical governor was acknowledged from the pulpit; the people adopted the doctrine, and Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar of weak intellect, but full of frantic zeal, undertook the task of freeing the kingdom from its despotic ruler, and he gave Henry a mortal stab, of which wound he died on the following day. The king of Navarre, being the descendant of St. Louis, by his youngest son Robert, took the title of Henry IV.; but so great and numerous were the difficulties that surrounded him, and so many of the nobility deserted his cause, that the king of Spain entertained hopes of annexing France to his dominions; or, at all events, of obtaining the duchy of Bretagne for the Infanta, in right of her mother, Elizabeth of France.

The queen of England entered into a treaty with Henry, and assisted him with money and with men, to repel the Spaniards from his coast. At length Henry made a formal renouncement of the new faith, and performed the ceremony of abjuration. His return to the ancient worship gave serious uneasiness to Elizabeth. She shewed her displeasure in a strong and violent remonstrance; but when the first emotions of anger had subsided, policy united them in a treaty to wage war against Philip, so long as the latter should keep up hostilities against either of them.

The death of Mary did not, as Elizabeth expected, put an end to conspiracies against her life; rumours of the same nature continued to circulate occasionally during the whole of her reign. Nor can the reader feel surprise that it should have been so, considering that Elizabeth, as well as Philip of Spain, employed a great number of spies, who, being men of ruined fortunes and corrupt principles, betrayed the secrets of either party as their own interest led them; and sometimes were the fabricators of alarming reports, to enhance the value of their services. Roderigo Lopez, a celebra

Jew and physician, suffered on a charge of this kind, which was discovered through the exertions of the earl of Essex.

France called for the aid of England in an attack upon Spain, but the queen had begun to repent of the sums she had already advanced to Henry, and demanded Calais as a security for her future assistance; for the preparations on the peninsula alarmed her majesty, lest Philip should make a second attempt to invade England. At that time, however, placed Calais in the keeping of Spain. France reproached England for its refusal of assistance, and the queen heard the event with anger and regret.

In the mean time an expedition, headed by Hawkins and Drake, to annoy the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, was repulsed with loss; and the disappointment occasioned the death of both the commanders. The English, in their perplexity, adopted a measure proposed by the admiral, Howard of Effingham, to send out an expedition that should anticipate the design of the enemy, and attack his ports and shipping. Essex had command of the forces, and Howard that of the navy. In the latter ranks, Walter Raleigh, who had completed his penance months' confinement in the Tower, for having debauched Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of the maids of honour. He, during his custody, seen the queen in her barge on the Thames, he pretended madness at the sight, and in a struggle with sir George Carew, to go to his royal mistress, their perriwigs were torn off, and both drew their daggers.

The queen not appearing to be moved at this farce, Walter tried another expedient. Hearing that the queen was going on her progress, "How," he asked, "could he live alone in prison, while she was afar off?" He was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus. But once amiss had bereaved him of all. He then exclaimed, "All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, can they not weigh down one frail misfortune! Can



one drop of gall be hidden under such heaps of sweetness?' This flattery was unsuccessful ; the gallant lover was not received at court until after his return from Cadiz.

When the English troops entered Cadiz, the council of war was divided in opinion as to the fitness of that step, which ended in the possession of Cadiz, from which the troops returned with glory for their bravery, and with honour for their humanity, as no blood had been wantonly spilt, nor any dishonourable act committed. The persons of the females were held sacred, and had been conveyed by a safe escort to the port of St. Mary. But from the commencement of the undertaking Essex had met with opposition, which may be in some way accounted for by the following circumstance.

Sir Burleigh, now grown old as a statesman, had felt great uneasiness since the first appearance of Essex at court. He had hoped to have secured his office for his own son, sir Robert Cecil, after his decease ; and his jealousy of the young man prompted him to seize the period of his absence to diminish him in the estimation of the queen. Though Essex

had been the leading conqueror of Cadiz, the victory was reported as chiefly attributable to sir Walter Raleigh, and to have been in itself a cheap and easy conquest. Above all,

the queen's eagerness for money was disappointed when she learned that the army brought back no increase of wealth ; that the plunder was divided among the adventurers by the prodigality of the youthful commander. Essex was received with such coldness that he could not obtain the ear of the queen ; he, therefore, instead of the dissipated and thoughtless conduct he had before pursued, now played the saint ; was regular at church, grave in his demeanour, and affectionately attentive to his countess. In the council he defended

his conduct by an avowal that all his plans had been opposed by his colleagues, who were the creatures of the priests, and who had refused to act for the royal interest, by frustrating his design to intercept the Spanish treasure, which was then on its way to the Indies. When intelligence arrived, some time after, that twenty millions of dollars had been saved by the ports of Spain in safety, the weight of public

opinion changed, and Elizabeth vented a torrent of abuse on the treacherous Burleigh, who retired to his house in despair of her forgiveness.

The two rivals for favouritism and power, the earl of Essex and sir Robert Cecil, caused some perplexity to the queen, from the difference of their characters ; and a great fund of amusement to the courtiers, from their personal quarrels. While the queen preferred sir Robert as a man of business, her affections yielded to the perverse temper of Essex, who in great difficulties affected illness and retired to his bed ; a circumstance that was sure to obtain the compassionate acquiescence of his royal mistress. She appointed sir Robert her secretary of state, and created Essex earl marshal.

The attention of the English cabinet was claimed by a proposal from Henry of France, to form a general league of the protestant princes against the king of Spain ; who, since his treasury had been replenished by Indian gold, had been encouraged by several of the principal Catholics to look to the crown of England, with a distant hope that the succession might devolve on his daughter, the Infanta, in whose favour a tract, called " A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England, by R. Doleman," had been published. In this the author endeavoured to prove, " that the profession of a false religion is, in all cases, a sufficient bar against propinquity of blood ;" and points out the Infanta as the lineal representative of John of Ghent, son of Edward III.

The secret agents of Elizabeth in the Spanish court sent information of the views of the party, and of the preparations making by Philip for a second invasion of England. On receiving this intelligence a large armament was equipped, and sent out to meet and destroy the Spanish fleet : they left Plymouth under the command of Essex, with sir Thomas Howard and sir Walter Raleigh as his seconds. Owing to tempestuous weather, with which Essex contended till his ship became nearly a wreck, the fleet returned into harbour, and Essex again sallied out to the Azores, from which place

he returned with barely enough of treasure, taken from the Spaniards, to defray the expenses of this unfortunate expedition.

Henry, the French monarch, made peace with Philip, who was equally well inclined to form an amicable treaty with England also ; but the cabinet was divided in opinion on the subject, as well as on that of a governor for Ireland, an office which was full of danger and difficulty, and which the queen wished to bestow on sir William Knollys, but was opposed by Essex, who desired it for sir George Carew. It was on that occasion that the earl, by rudely turning his back to the queen, provoked her majesty to give him a smart blow on the ear, saying at the time, "he might go and be hanged." The earl, placing his hand on his sword, swore he would not suffer such treatment were it from Henry VIII. himself ; and in a passion quitted the court. For some time the queen and her favourite continued to be at variance, and when she did re-admit him to her presence, it was not with her former feelings, but with a secret portion of rancour which never entirely subsided. Soon after this domestic quarrel the queen shed tears for the death of lord Burleigh ; and about the same period she lost her enemy, Philip of Spain, who was succeeded on the throne by his son Philip III.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### ELIZABETH (CONTINUED.)

THE conduct of James of Scotland, from the period of his mother's death, proved that he doubted equally the sincerity of Elizabeth, and the professions of the Catholics ; and therefore his policy led him to conciliate both parties, while his necessity compelled him to accept pecuniary aid from either. As he was by nature cautious and diffident, he saw, with parent apathy, some of his nobility treat with the pope and with Spain, to bring about the ancient religion in



rich ample authority, that his power was that of a sovereign; it even extended to his discretion as to the continuance of war. Yet these unprecedented indulgences were not unspanned by suspicion, which caused the queen to command certain of his officers to act as spies on the conduct of and to send her faithful reports of his proceedings.

The first act of the new governor was one of disobedience to his sovereign. He gave the command of the cavalry to Lord of Southampton, who was in disgrace with Elizabeth for having married contrary to her pleasure; and he spent his summer in temporizing, instead of fighting with the adverse party, and at length entered into a truce with O'Nial, which he so disappointed the hopes of the queen, and gave his enemies the opportunity of exciting her doubts respecting his loyalty. This did not fail of its effect, and her majesty in consequence, addressed an angry letter to Essex. The reader must already be aware that this nobleman possessed a generous disposition and great candour; qualities themselves excellent, but which, when joined to petulance and ambition, and a wilfulness of conduct that did not yield to merited reproof, exposed the individual thus placed to the power of those who were jealous of his influence, and who omitted no occasion in which their malice might injure him.

On the receipt of queen Elizabeth's letter, Essex opened his eyes to the conduct of his rivals, and gave them fresh proof of their malevolence by the imprudent step he adopted; he directly proceeded, unbidden, to throw himself at the feet of his sovereign. The sudden appearance of her favourite, as she had risen from her bed, imploring her forgiveness on his knees, disarmed the lady of her anger; and he departed exultingly, on leaving the apartment, "that though he had encountered much trouble and many storms abroad, blessed God he found a perfect calm at home." The respite was but of short duration, since a violent tempest burst forth over his head, and Essex found he was a prisoner in his own house. A severe illness was the result of this confinement, the life of Essex was said to be in danger, and

the queen's resentment softened ; but, as his recovery advanced, her anger returned, and she ordered that he should be examined privately ; the peers pronounced a judgment against him, which her majesty required to be called a censure, and which deprived him of his offices, and confined him to his own house during the queen's pleasure. Essex affected humility and contrition, by which he obtained remission of punishment. This charge in the queen awakened new fears in his rivals, and they persuaded her that he was not yet sufficiently humbled, and that his heart was proud as ever. Resolved to conquer that obduracy, her majesty refused to grant his petition for the renewal of a patent for a monopoly of sweet wines, saying, at the same time, "An ungovernable beast must be stinted of his provender."

Essex, finding that the queen remained unaltered in his angry disposition towards him, gave way to his natural violence, spoke of her in disrespectful terms, and, among other things, said, "she was grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body." He went further—he informed James of Scotland that the faction, which ruled the court, were in league to deprive him of his right to the throne of England, in favour of the Infanta of Spain ; and he offered his services to extort from Elizabeth an acknowledgment of his claims. The Scottish monarch had received intimation of the intelligence thus confirmed to him by Essex, and gladly accepted the offer made him by the latter. The conduct of the ex-favourite soon excited suspicion ; a surmise only would have been enough for his enemies to act upon ; but here was an actual attempt to rouse the people to rebellion, for the earl had formed the desperate plan of imprisoning the factious party, and then he meant to inform Elizabeth of their duplicity : which done, he thought he should recover his former situation with her majesty, and flattered himself he should prevail with her to fix upon James as her successor.

But all these romantic plans were frustrated by the activity of the ministers, who could not see the crowds assemble at *Essex-house*, without thinking that some new turn was about

ce. Essex, and a number of his friends were with  
 culty secured: the earl surrendered on a promise  
 ould have a fair trial; which he fancied was in-  
 him through his influence with the queen. The  
 opened by Coke, the attorney-general, who treated  
 did the unfortunate generally, with insolence and  
 le represented the errors committed by Essex,  
 ; administration in Ireland, in the most odious  
 The solicitor-general, Fleming, exposed the miser-  
 ation in which he had left Ireland; and Francis  
 osed the charge with an exaggerated statement of  
 itiful expressions used by the earl in his letters. The  
 ded with the condemnation of Essex; judgment was  
 nced against him, and against his friend the earl of  
 ampton.

In the Tower, Essex is said to have made  
 fession which filled four sheets of paper. With many  
 ame a doubtful question whether the queen could pre-  
 with herself to sign the execution of a man for whom it  
 well known she had harboured a very strong affection.  
 however, signed the fatal instrument, but it was thought  
 ould not have done so but for the certainty she felt that  
 s the holder of a pledge; which, when it should be pre-  
 , would have an undeniable claim upon her mercy.  
 passed on in vain expectation that this pledge would  
 een presented; it came not; and Essex was con-  
 to the fatal block; but his death was followed by  
 s and the discontent of the public, with whom the  
 stood as high in estimation, as he had once done in  
 he queen.

arl of Marr, and Bruce, abbot of Kirlop, ambassadors  
 nes of Scotland, proceeded to England with the hope  
 nce from the adherents of Essex, in establishing the  
 uccession. They found Cecil their friend: the declin-  
 of Elizabeth had taught the wily minister that it was  
 est to favour the man whom he knew would succeed  
 gal heir to the throne. But as age had not yet lulled  
 n's suspicions, Cecil deemed it necessary, for his own  
 o keep his intentions, respecting James, an entire

secret; and from that period he corresponded with the Scottish monarch by means of his ambassadors Marr and Bruce. In the first of those letters sir Robert called Arabelle Stuart, "Shrewsbury's idol, who, if she follow some men's counsels, will be made higher by as many steps as will lead to the scaffold." Sir Robert found that he had powerful rivals in the earl of Northumberland, lord Cobham, and sir Walter Raleigh, who were equally desirous as himself to court the favour of James; and in order to possess the entire influence with the future king of England, Cecil endeavoured, by every means in his power, to render their loyalty suspected to the Scottish monarch, and for this end he styled them in the secret correspondence, "the diabolical triplicity." Speaking of Cobham and Raleigh, it is observed, "that hell did never spew up such a couple when it cast up Cerberus and Phlegethon." But the secretary had quite mistaken the character of James, who gave him to understand that he was too well informed regarding the intrigues of the English cabinet to become the tool of any party: that he should accept the services of all loyal men, and reward merits he found it should be due.

Persons, who continued to be the principal agitator for a Catholic successor to Elizabeth, obtained two breves, signed by pope Clement VIII., exhorting the English nobility to elect a Catholic claimant. These were committed to the care of Garnet, the head of the Jesuits, to be kept secret during the present reign, and he wisely gave them to the flames when James succeeded to the sovereignty.

The two religious factions in 1603 drew from the government a proclamation, in the name of the queen, against the Catholic missionaries, which produced from the latter the following protestation of their civil allegiance. This instrument declared,\* "1st, that Elizabeth had a right to all the civil authority which was possessed by her predecessors; that they were bound to pay to her the same obedience in civil causes which Catholic priests had ever been bound to

\* LINGARD, vol. viii. p. 484.



pay to Catholic sovereigns; and that no authority on earth could discharge them from that obligation. 2nd. That in cases of conspiracy and religion, even under the pretence of restoring the Catholic religion, they conceived it their duty to stand by her against all her opponents; and to reveal all plots and treasons which might come to their knowledge. 3rd. That were any excommunication to be issued against them, on account of their performance of this duty, they should look upon it as of no effect; and, lastly, that by this protestation of their loyalty, they did not trench upon that obedience, which was due to the spiritual supremacy of the pontiff; but as they were ready to shed their blood in defence of their queen and country, so would they rather lose their lives than infringe the lawful authority of the Catholic church. What influence such an address might have had we cannot tell, as it never reached the hands of the queen."

From the time that the earl of Essex was beheaded, the days of queen Elizabeth were sorrowful and gloomy. By most historians the change has been solely attributed to the loss of her favourite, on whose account she never ceased to reproach herself for the cruel precipitancy with which she acted; but Lingard has observed the probability that her mental uneasiness was greatly occasioned by disclosures made in the confessions of Essex, since from that document she learned what her dependants had, for their own interest, kept from her; that she had already lived too long, and that the favourites, on whose professions she relied, were unfaithful, and wished to be freed from her control. Her godson, sir John Harrington, describes her majesty, in October, 1601, as altered in features, and reduced to a skeleton; he says, "Her food was only manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. Nothing could please her: she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person. She stamped with her feet and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand, and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber."

About a year later the same gentleman had an interview

secret: and from that period he corresponded with the Scottish monarch by means of his ambassador Bruce. In the first of those letters sir Robert calls James, "the emperor's idol, who, if she follow her own will, will be made higher by as many steps as the scaffold." Sir Robert found that he had two enemies in the earl of Northumberland, lord Cobham, Walter Raleigh, who were equally desirous as himself of the favour of James: and in order to possess the favour of the future king of England, Cecil, by every means in his power, to render their interest odious to the English monarch, and for this end he opened the secret correspondence, "the diabolical trading of Cobham and Raleigh, it is observed, never grew up such a couple when it cast Phrygian." But the secretary had the character of James, who gave him to understand that he was not to be informed regarding the intrigues of the court, so as to become the tool of any party, and to accept the services of all loyal men, and for this end it should be done.

Persons, who continued to be the Catholic successor to Elizabeth, obtained by pope Clement VIII., exhorting a Catholic claimant. These were Garret, the head of the Jesuits, the present reign, and he was also James succeeded to the religious faction.

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and at three the next morning composedly breathed last, on the 24th of March, 1603.

gard, from whose history this account of the last illness of Elizabeth is taken, takes no notice of the ring said to be sent by Essex to the queen, because no such circumstance is mentioned by those contemporaries who have recorded occurrences of the queen's illness. There can be no doubt that Elizabeth did expect an application to be made from the earl, and that in such a shape as would furnish her a plausible motive for granting the claim. It is said that there had been an exchange of rings in the course of their intimacy, and therefore it seemed probable, that she credited the circumstance, that a return of her present would have operated very powerfully upon Essex; but as history has not confirmed the fact, there is no satisfactory proof that the countess of Nottingham was the bearer of any communication to the queen.

It has been observed, that at the time Elizabeth came to the throne, England ranked only with the secondary kingdoms; but at the close of her reign, it took its station among the first nations in Europe. She has ever been acknowledged as one of the wisest, as well as the most fortunate, of our monarchs. For this we must look to the peculiar circumstances of the times, which called into action all the species of talent in the subject, and to the exercise of the masculine mind of Elizabeth was well adapted; she partook of the warlike spirit of the Tudors, and possessed a great portion of the inflexibility which distinguished the character of Henry VII. The general extension of commerce during this reign, furnished a strong stimulus to the industry and industry of the nation; while all pursued with alacrity the path of improvement, as the channel through which every man looked for the acquisition of wealth and the means of independence. Another cause (and that the most charitable in its source) was the system of rapine practised by the ministers of Elizabeth, who, by various means of aggression, contrived to feed the spirit of rebellion.

in other nations, and so raised the scale of English glory by depressing that of her foreign allies.

Irresolution and avarice have been accounted inherent properties in the character of Elizabeth. The latter appears to have formed a natural part of her; but the experience of events has proved that her habits of procrastination, and her indecision in all matters of importance, arose from the weakness existing between her judgment and her reason. Her ministers could always bias her judgment by means of flattery, or by intimidating threats that her throne was in danger; but the strength of her reason opposed their opinions, and made her defer, as long as she could, a decision which she felt was inconsistent with her better part.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### JAMES I.

For some years previous to the death of Elizabeth the public mind had been frequently agitated with apprehensions respecting the succession to the English throne. Henry VIII. by excluding the Scottish line in his will, had thrown a degree of doubt on that subject; but the prime minister, Cecil, earl of Salisbury, who partook of the intriguing qualities of his father, lord Burleigh, had, during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, kept up a secret correspondence with James, and acted the part of counsellor to that monarch; so that he and his colleagues had secured the protection of James for themselves; and, as he was known to be next heir by descent, he ascended the English throne with the approbation of all parties.

The Catholics hailed the arrival of James with joyful anticipations, as they had been led to expect toleration in the practice of their religion, in return for their faithful attachment to the house of Stuart, which hope had been confirmed by his work of Basilicon Doran, which had been completed

1599, and then went through several other editions in 1603, the year of his accession. But during the progress of the reign of the monarch from Scotland, his popularity decreased. To the members who went to escort the new sovereign, the contrast of his manners with those of his predecessor were strongly apparent. His countenance was repulsive, and his person and demeanour ungraceful; he could not hear the name of Elizabeth without expressing, even in look, his abhorrence of her conduct towards his mother, and was glad to find he would be spared the ceremony of attending her funeral, as, by an order of the council, her royal remains had been deposited in Henry the Seventh's chapel, previous to his arrival in London. This personal feeling towards the late queen seemed the result of filial affection in the mind of James, but the demeanour of royalty was wanting; neither did he display any nobleness of disposition, and in vain did they look for the judgment and discernment which had rendered the government of the last reign glorious. James, as if conscious there was a deficiency somewhere, sought to fill the vacuum by dispensing titles and honours with a lavish hand. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons received knighthood in the first six weeks of his reign, and at the end of six months a pasquinade was fixed at the door of St. Paul's church to teach the vulgar the names of the new nobility, which amounted to more than seven hundred.

The beginning of a reign being a season for the exercise of intrigue, the faction, consisting of the secretary Cecil and his colleagues of the council, to which six Scotsmen were admitted, was opposed with mortal enmity by that headed by the earl of Northumberland; the latter had gained considerable strength by the recall of the earl of Southampton, as it revived the hopes of the friends of the unfortunate Essex. But although James received Southampton into favour, Cobham and Gray remained unnoticed; and Raleigh was disgraced from his office of captain of the guard, and deprived of the wardenship of the Stanneries. However, to balance accounts, Northumberland, with five other noblemen, were admitted of the council.

The enmity so long exercised towards Spain had no existence in the breast of James, nor did he feel inclined to encourage rebellion among the subjects of any legitimate sovereign. His desire for peace was favourable to England, in as far as it preserved the king from becoming the dupe of Rhosny, the French ambassador, afterwards known as the celebrated duke of Sully, who came furnished with the means to induce the new monarch to join his master in a league to humble the power of Austria. His presents secured the good offices of the queen and several of the courtiers; his eloquence and his mode of flattery had also some weight with the new monarch, and induced him to sign a treaty; but at the departure of Rhosny he resumed his former plan of peace with the Christian nations.

The coronation of James was hastily performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the festival of St. James. It would have been longer delayed, on account of the plague which then raged with such violence as to allow of the attendance of very few of the nobility; but it appeared necessary that it should be performed, in consequence of a conspiracy then in embryo, and said to arise from the discontented among the Puritans and the Catholics, who both found themselves disappointed in having cherished a belief that they should be indulged with religious toleration. The agitators of the plot, afterwards known by the name of "the Rye," being men of discordant principles, and of opposite opinions and interests, the object to be obtained was so wrapt in mystery, that a late historian\* declared in 1803 that it had not then been unravelled with any degree of certainty. Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the principals, who was a Free-thinker, but a brave and enlightened man, was treated by the attorney-general, sir Edward Coke, in a way that has ever been considered as disgraceful to the manners of that age. He was accounted guilty on the single testimony of Cobham, whose frequent retractions proved him totally unworthy of credit; and Coke loaded him with the epithets of "traitor, monster, viper, and spider

well." Sir Walter and several others were condemned, but a few suffered by the hands of the executioner; some died in prison, and Raleigh lived to act a conspicuous part on another occasion.

The inclination of James led him to indulge the Catholics, that feeling was so strenuously combated by his advisers, that he compromised the matter between his conscience and his wish to please his Protestant subjects; and he received all such petitions as solicited the exercise of the public worship, while he conferred honours on many individuals of that communion. From pope Clement VIII. he received offers of friendship, and an assurance that he was ready to withdraw from England any missionary whom the council had reason to look upon with suspicion. The Catholics had entertained equal hopes of indulgence with the Protestants, because James, when he professed the Genevan doctrine, had been often heard to express his gratitude that he belonged to the purest kirk in the world; but since his accession to the throne of England, the monarch had discovered that where there was no bishop, it was likely they would not long submit to a king; and that the hierarchy was the surest support of a monarchical government.

From the peculiar circumstances of the times, James had been bred to the practice of dissimulation. The habit had grown with him; he had found it beneficial in treating with the ministers of Elizabeth's reign, and he now continued the practice with his own ministers and his own subjects. Resolved on retaining the authority of "head of the church," he stepped beyond the boundaries of his power, and, in a proclamation, issued his intention to prescribe rules for the election of members of parliament. But the speaker, in his first address to the king, informed his majesty that the right to institute new laws or to reform old ones must originate in the power of parliament; that the royal prerogative consisted in the ratification by his affirmative, or the frustrating by his negative, the measures which had passed the houses of lords and commons. Notwithstanding the inauspicious appearance of things during the first session of James's reign, the following passage from his





months suspended; it was now levied for the  
of the suspension, a circumstance which re-  
milies to positive beggary. But the evil was  
another cruel aggravation; James was sur-  
great number of his countrymen, whose clae  
the monarch satisfied by giving them permis-  
by law, in his name, for his claims upon the  
of the recusants. Among the sufferers was  
, a descendant of an ancient family, residing at  
r's, in Northamptonshire. He was one of those  
l the late earl of Essex; and at the period  
eman made his treasonable attempt on Eliza-  
ided and committed to prison, from whence  
giving a bribe of three thousand pounds. Still  
reak the yoke under which the Catholics  
y attached himself to the Spanish party; until  
their projects proved ineffectual, he trusted to  
toleration given to Percy, a relation and steward  
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inburgh, and who stated it to be the intention  
erate the exercise of the Catholic religion in  
he should come into the possession of the  
s represented the thing at the time. But as  
after his accession to the throne, declared in  
r his horror of popery, and his wish that any  
who might follow any other religion than that  
ed church should forfeit the right of succession,  
not be surprised to learn that the king should  
r had expressed this encouraging hope to Percy;  
ent conduct towards the whole body of Catho-  
is detestation of their creed to all Christendoms  
most cruel oppression, Catesby conceived the  
of involving the king, the lords, and the com-  
mon destruction, by blowing up the par-  
with gunpowder, at the opening of the session.  
er into the history of the plot I think it pro-  
bat, in this part of English history, I have  
singard, in consequence of a note in vol. ix.

speech, on the opening of that session, is recorded as with precepts fit to be engraved on the heart of every monarch\*.

“When,” says he, “I have done all that I can for you do nothing but that which I am bound to do, and as countable to God should I do the contrary; for I acknowledge that the greatest and most essential difference between a rightful king and an usurping tyrant is this: that while the proud and ambitious tyrant doth think that his kingdom and people are only ordained for the promoting his own and prosperity, the just prince considereth himself as father of his people, and that his greatest and most precious happiness must consist in their prosperity. If I be rich I cannot be poor; if you be happy I cannot be miserable; and I protest that your welfare shall be the object of my study and attention. That I am the most true; and that as I am head and governor of the people in my dominions, considering them in numbers and different ranks, so, if we take the people as one mass, then as the head is ordained for the body, as the body for the head, so must a righteous king acknowledge himself to be ordained for his people, and not his people for him; for although a king and people be relative, yet cannot a king exist if he want people and subjects. But there are many people in the world that want a king; wherefore I never be ashamed to confess it my principal honour to be a great servant of the commonwealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof to be my greatest felicity, as I have observed.”

A convocation sat during the session of parliament and produced a code of ecclesiastical canons, all tending to confirm the supremacy of the king, and the orthodox English Protestant church. The Puritans, feeling themselves heavily aggrieved, accused the king of papistry, against which he easily got rid by an immediate order for the execution of all the penal laws which had been enacted against the Catholics. The fine of 20*l.* per lunar was

ne months suspended; it was now levied for the  
 rd of the suspension, a circumstance which re-  
 families to positive beggary. But the evil was  
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p. 39, of his history, in which he mentions having collected many particulars which were hitherto unknown, from two manuscripts in his possession. One in English, by father John Gerard; the other an Italian translation, but enriched with much additional information, by father Oswald Greenway. Both were Jesuit missionaries, who, on account of their familiar acquaintance with the conspirators, were suspected by the government of having been privy to the plot.

When Catesby first mentioned the project to his friend Thomas Winter, of Huddington, in Worcestershire, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him from so inhuman a plan, but Catesby defended its justice by an enumeration of the sufferings which the Catholics had sustained in their lives and properties. At length they determined to solicit the mediation of the Spanish ambassador with James, and for that purpose Winter sent to confer with Velasco, at Bergen; but failing to procure his interest, he proceeded to Ostend, and engaged Guy Fawkes, his colleague in a former agency for the Spanish party, to accompany him to England, yet without telling him what was in contemplation. During Winter's absence Catesby had made Percy, the person above spoken of, and who considered himself to have been ill-treated by James, and John Wright, a noted swordsman, the sharers of his secret. Fawkes was now trusted with the plan, and all five swore each other to secrecy. Winter in his confession, p. 50; says, that "they five administered the oath to each other in a chamber, in which no other body was;" and then went into another room to receive the sacrament. Fawkes, in his examination, taken November the 9th, in the State Paper Office, says, "the five did meet at a house in the fields beyond St. Clement's Inn, where they did confer and agree upon the plot, and there they took a solemn oath and vow, by all their force and power, to execute the same, and of secrecy not to reveal any of their fellows, but to such as should be thought fit persons to enter into that *action*: and in the same house they did receive the sacrament of Gerard, the Jesuit, to perform their vow, and of

secrecy aforesaid; but that Gerard was not acquainted with their purpose\*."

This was read at the trial, with the exception of the part exculpating Gerard. Before that in the original is drawn a line, with the words *huc usque*, in the handwriting of sir Edward Coke, who was unwilling to publish to the world a passage which might serve to the justification of one whom he meant to accuse.

Meanwhile the conspirators did not proceed in the enterprise until every effort to mollify James had been tried in vain, and that he declared himself fearful of granting a concession which might be offensive to his Protestant subjects. He issued fresh orders for the detection of recusants, and appointed a commission to banish the Catholic missionaries. In the beginning of December the conspirators hired an empty house adjoining the old palace of Westminster, which had a garden attached to it, on one side of which stood an old building against the wall of the parliament-house. Fawkes, whose person was less known than the others, assumed the name of Johnson, and said he was Percy's servant. He kept a constant watch around the house; the other four divided the labour of working a mine under the old building into the parliament-house; two-thirds of the twenty-four hours were given to this employment, and one to rest. During the day they were busy in excavating the mine, and during the night in concealing the rubbish in the garden; but learning that the parliament was prorogued from February to October, they separated, and went to their respective homes, having previously resolved not to write or send any messages to each other during that period.

Catesby, on reflecting, thought he had perceived a scrupulousness on the part of his friends regarding the lawfulness of involving the fate of the innocent with that of the guilty, and his cunning suggested the following means to quiet their scruples without endangering his secret. Sir Charles Percy had obtained the king's permission to raise a regiment of

\* LINGARD, vol. ix. note 42.

horse for the service of the archduke. Catesby succeeded in procuring the royal license to accept a captain's commission in that regiment, and he took occasion, in a large company, to observe to Garnet, the provincial of the Jesuits, that he was about to enter the service of the archduke, and it was possible he might be commanded to partake in actions in which the innocent would necessarily perish with the guilty; for example, unarmed women and children, with armed soldiers and rebels. Could he in conscience obey? Would not the fate of the innocent render his conduct unlawful in the sight of the Almighty? Garnet replied that, according to divines of every communion, obedience in such cases was lawful; otherwise it would at all times be in the power of an unjust aggressor to prevent the party aggrieved from pursuing his just right. This was sufficient: the new theologian applied the answer to the intended plot, and boasted to his associates that their objection was now proved to be a weak and unfounded scruple.

In the following spring the conspirators renewed their labour, having added Christopher, the brother of Wright, and Robert, the brother of Thomas Winter, to their number. The working of the mine being stopped by a great influx of water, they rejoiced to find they were near a vaulted cellar under the house of lords. Fawkes hired it in the name of his pretended master, and conveyed to it in the night many barrels of gunpowder, which they concealed under stacks of wood, and various articles of household furniture; and then they again separated until a few days before the meeting of parliament.

During the period of these preparations the persecutions of Catholics had greatly increased; their houses, lands, and persons, were subject to nocturnal searches, and the levied fines ground them to the dust: in the county of Hereford four hundred and nine families were suddenly reduced to beggary. Catesby witnessed these proceedings with satisfaction, from a supposition that this treatment would make them more willing to join his standard. He spent the intervening time in Flanders, where he intri-

the English officers who were in the pay of the arch-

His conduct, however, did not pass unnoticed: the king and his council were aware of a clandestine plan, though they were ignorant of the actors in it. At home the altered character of Catesby excited the suspicions of his friends. The pope, who had received orders from the pope, and from his superior, to discountenance any disposition in the king's council to disturb the public tranquillity, inculcated, when Catesby's table, the duty of submitting to the pressure of persecution, and of leaving the redress of wrongs to the justice of heaven. To this argument Catesby unguardedly replied, "It is to you, and such as you, that we owe our present calamities. This doctrine of non-resistance makes us weak. No authority of priest or pontiff can deprive man of his right to repel injustice."

A private conference between Garnet and Catesby ensued, in which they agreed to seek some friend who would represent to the pope the sufferings inflicted by James upon the king's subjects. In this determination both acted with deceit: Catesby's object being to obtain time, that he might send an agent of his own appointment, who should relate the circumstances when the explosion should take place; while Garnet, with the belief that he had lulled the discontented king by the promises of Catesby, promised himself time to receive a breve from the pope, which would prohibit any violent proceedings, and thus set the matter at rest. Lingard remarks that sir Edward Coke represented this transaction differently at the first of the trial, but he did not produce any proof of his state-

The letter written by Garnet to his superior, a copy of which is at the end of LINGARD'S *History*, vol. ix., agrees with the above account, as copied from Greenway's MS. Again parliament was prorogued; a circumstance that greatly retarded the execution of the plot; for as Catesby was the only rich man among the conspirators, his means were so impoverished by these delays, as to oblige him to communicate his secret to sir Edward Digby, of Drystoke, in Rutlandshire, and to Francis Tresham, of Bushton, in Northamptonshire, both Catholic gentlemen of handsome fortunes. These

having been sworn to secrecy, the following regulations were agreed upon:—

A list was made out of such members as they wished to save by means of an admonitory letter, to be delivered on the morning of the fatal day, but at so late an hour as not to allow the plot to be discovered.

Guy Fawkes was fixed on as the one to fire the mine, a ship being provided by Tresham to convey him to Flanders.

The task of Percy, he being a gentleman pensioner, was to get possession of the person of prince Charles, and convey him to the rendezvous at Dunchurch; from which place the conspirators meant to proceed to lord Harrington, to seize the person of princess Elizabeth. It was intended to appoint a protector, who should exercise the royal authority during the minority of the prince, but the name of that person never transpired.

While these visionary schemes floated in the imaginations of a few individuals whom the passions of revenge, interest, and enthusiasm had urged to sanguinary modes of violence, Garnet was cherishing a hope that his arguments had induced Catesby to suspend, if not wholly abandon, every criminal intention. But Catesby had his own misgivings, and in confession opened the whole affair to Greenway, desiring him to consult his provincial. With this intention Greenway had recourse to Garnet, from whom he received a severe reprimand, and advice that he must restrain Catesby by every means in his power. Garnet also charged Greenway not to discover to any one, not even to Catesby, that they had held this conversation. Such an effect did the consciousness of his being privy to so atrocious a plot produce in the mind of the provincial, that he was no longer in a state to perform his missionary duties; and this perturbation of spirits caused him to hasten to Coughton, in Warwickshire, in order to try his own influence with Catesby, whom he expected to meet there. In the latter expectation he was disappointed, as Catesby had gone to White Webbs, near Enfield Chase; where he was unexpectedly visited by his new ally Tresham, whose manner appeared to him greatly embarrassed. He



pleaded that his brother-in-law, lord Mounteagle, should have warning of his danger, and he said he should require time to accomplish certain sales, to enable him to furnish the sums he had promised, and that the explosion might have the same effect at the close as at the opening of the parliament. Catesby became suspicious, but did not then reveal his thoughts. A few days after, when lord Monteagle was entertaining a party at his own house, the following letter was delivered to him at the supper table:—

“My lord out of the love i heave to some of youer frends i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some excuse to shift of youer attendance at this parleament for god and man hath concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but reteyre youer self into youre contri wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti, for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terribel blowe this parleament, and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this cowncel is not to be contemned because it may do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the danger is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy protection i comend yowe.”

It was without date or signature. The following day the letter was sent to the secretary, Cecil; and was afterwards perused by the king, to whom his flatterers attributed the merit of discovering that there was an intention to blow up the parliament-house with gunpowder. The conspirators, judging that as no search had been made, nothing to frustrate their plot had transpired, persevered in the original intention. On the evening of the 4th of November the lord chamberlain visited the parliament-house, and on entering the cellar, accompanied by lord Mounteagle, he observed Fawkes, disguised as Percy's servant, and noticed to him “that his master had laid in an abundant stock of fuel.” Even this warning was lost upon Fawkes: he continued obstinate in his determination; but having occasion to open the door of the

vault, about two o'clock in the morning of the 5th of November, he was seized by sir Thomas Knivett and a party of soldiers. Three matches were found in his pockets, behind the door was a dark lantern, and, on removing the fuel, two hogsheads and thirty-two barrels of gunpowder were discovered.

When Fawkes was examined before the king and council he said his name was Johnson—his master, Percy. He acknowledged his design to destroy the parliament, as the sole means of putting an end to religious persecution; but, he said, whether he had, or had not, accomplices should never be known from him: nor was his courage or his perseverance ever subdued, though he suffered torture to the extremity. The conspirators, when Fawkes was taken, mounted their horses and hastened to Dunchurch, where they hoped to increase their number, but every Catholic whom they solicited shut their doors against them. At Holbeach-house they resolved to turn on the sheriffs of the county, who were following them with an armed force; but as they were preparing to make battle, a spark of fire accidentally fell upon the powder. Catesby, and several more were a good deal burnt, most of their followers fled in confusion, and Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights were mortally wounded by their pursuers; while a few of the principals sought a protection at Hagley, where they were betrayed by a servant of the widow, Mrs. Littleton, who was herself ignorant that they had been secreted in the house by her cousin Humphrey Littleton. During the examinations of the conspirators, among whom the ministers accused the three Jesuits, Gerard, Garnet, and Greenway, as “practisers in the plot,” they repeatedly declared, that, as far as had come to their knowledge, the three Jesuits were innocent; and pleaded, in excuse for their own conduct, the loss of their property, and the sufferings of the Catholics generally, on account of their religion. They also alleged that the king had broken his promises of toleration, and that the malice of their enemies daily aggravated their burdens. They declared their only object was to relieve themselves and *their brethren* from the cruelty of their oppressors, and to re-

store a worship which they believed to be the true worship of Christ, and for which they were ready to sacrifice their fortunes and their lives. This reasoning proved vain; they suffered the punishment of traitors.

Of the Jesuits, Gerard and Greenway escaped to the continent; but Garnet was secreted at Henlip, near Worcester. His residence being known to Humphrey Littleton, who had not undergone his trial, he acquainted the council of this circumstance, hoping thereby to save his own life. This caused Garnet to be arrested, with his servant Owen, and Oldcorne, another Jesuit, with his servant: all the four were taken in the house of Thomas Abington, who was also compelled to go with them to the Tower. As nothing transpired in the several examinations of these persons to criminate the Jesuits, their accusers had recourse to artifice. They placed spies so as to hear the conversation of Garnet and Oldcorne: the latter asked his fellow prisoner what had been urged against him respecting the plot; Garnet replied, that there he was secure, "being there was no more man living who could touch him in that manner, but one." On this reply was laid the ground for trying Garnet, who explained that the meaning of his words was, that he had been consulted in confession by his brother Greenway, and that he was bound to secrecy by his reverence to the sacrament. The attorney-general, sir Edward Coke, entered on that occasion into a detail of all the plots, real and fictitious, which had ever been attributed to the Catholics, but said little of the merits of the indictment; and nothing of the dying declarations by which he had promised to prove that Garnet was the original fabricator of the plot, and the confidential adviser of the conspirators; so that the king, who was present, declared they had not given him fair play. His defence made a favourable impression on his hearers; but his subsequent declaration respecting the doctrine of equivocation\*,

\* "This I acknowledge to be according to my opinion, and the opinion of the schoolmen. And our reason is, for that, in cases of lawful equivocation being saved from a lye, the same speech may be without perjury, confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require.—HENRY GARNET." Original in the State Paper Office, in Garnet's own handwriting.—LINGARD, vol. ix, Note 81.

brought him, in Lingard's opinion, to the scaffold. This historian remarks that "the man who maintained such opinions, could not reasonably complain if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." The king's suspicion, respecting his enemies, had been only lulled during the execution of the conspirators, and returned with equal vigour after their death. Northumberland, from his near alliance with the traitor Percy, was kept for some time under restraint in his own house, and then was committed to the Tower, where he sustained several examinations with a manliness and courage that truly awed the weak-minded monarch. However, the total absence of any proof of guilt did not prevent the earl being sentenced to pay an enormous fine; he was declared to be incapable of filling any office, and at length he was condemned to remain a prisoner for life. The extreme hardship of this judgment was attributed to Cecil, who considered Northumberland as his great political rival, and really feared the influence of his power. In the Tower the earl applied himself to scientific and literary pursuits; and from his great encouragement of learning became the *Mecenas* of the age. His society was chiefly composed of mathematicians, from which circumstance he acquired the name of Henry the Wizard.

The proceedings attending the gunpowder conspiracy delayed the meeting of parliament until the latter end of January, when it assembled to take into consideration the wants of the king; whose treasury was exhausted by his too great prodigality to his countrymen, and the unlimited extravagance of the royal establishment. The lords shewed themselves disposed to comply with the demands of their sovereign; but the commons resumed the same bold language they had held in the former session, and extended their threats of defiance to the representation of their own grievances, and their expectation of concession, in return for their compliance. The ministers were perplexed; and, finding that persuasion *was vain*, they met the remonstrance of the commons with *promises of greater economy and future amendment.*

The next point brought forward for discussion was the revision of the penal code. This proved a matter of real difficulty, since it was intended entirely to prohibit the exercise of the Catholic worship. To effect this measure, revenge and fanaticism had recourse to schemes as barbarous as any that had been suggested by the late conspirators. Henry IV. of France wished to act as a mediator between James and his Catholic subjects; by means of Boderie, his ambassador, he advised the English monarch not to goad the Catholics into the formation of plots for his destruction; and said, that "he himself had learned by experience that the torch of religion burns with increased fierceness in proportion to the opposition with which its ardour is met; and that much may be done through lenient measures, and little by severity."

James proved to the ambassador that he was naturally averse to harsh measures; yet, after this declaration on the part of the king, and repeated remonstrances on the part of his ministers, the new code was clogged with much additional severity. Besides the many cruel and oppressive enactments detailed in Lingard's History, (vol. ix.) Catholic recusants were forbidden to appear at court, or dwell within ten miles of the boundaries of the city. Every child sent for education beyond the sea, was, from that moment, debarred from taking any benefit by devise, descent, or gift, until he should return and conform to the established church; all such benefits being assigned by law to the Protestant next of kin. Every householder, of whatever religion, receiving Catholic visitors, or keeping Catholic servants, was liable to pay for each individual 10*l.* per lunar month.

To this was attached a new oath of allegiance, by which it was intended to form a distinction between those who denied and those who admitted the temporal pretensions of the pontiffs. A controversy on this point was conducted between Blackwall, the archpriest, and his secular clergy, (who allowed the oath, on the ground that it did not affect the spiritual supremacy of the pope, but merely rejected his temporal pretensions,) and the Jesuits, who condemned it. This was carried to Rome; but Paul V., in his paternal care of his

flock, had previously sent a private messenger to James, who received and treated him in the usual style of ambassador at the English court; but, as he returned to Paul's letter only a cold and indecisive answer, it caused the latter to yield to the prayers of the oppressed Catholics, and he condemned the oath.

Though James thought himself endowed with peculiar talents to enter on the sea of controversy, and even wrote a tract on that occasion, under the title of "An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance," he was averse to any thing like business. His habits of hunting, with his visits to the cockpit, occupied the greatest part of each day; and they were followed by the pleasures of the table. The ministers were blamed for their guilty supineness in silently allowing the king, without remonstrance, to spend his time thus idly, and leave to them the management of state affairs. After the death of Cecil, the earls of Salisbury and Northampton became opposed to each other in the pursuit of wealth and the aggrandizement of power; but the cunning policy of Salisbury soon gained him the ascendancy over the mind of James, and procured him from his royal master the favoured appellation of "my little beagle."

The queen, Anne of Denmark, possessed a good deal of spirit, and was not backward in occasionally shewing marks of contempt for the pusillanimous disposition of her husband. She was, however, sufficiently prudent to refrain from any interference in politics, and confined her attention to the pageantries of the court; she loved flattery, and courted it by setting off her person to the greatest advantage. But ebriety at that period was indulged in the highest circles, as the following extract from a letter will shew, written by a guest at Cecil's table, when he gave a grand entertainment at Theobald's to honour the presence of Christian IV. of Denmark, who was in England on a visit to James in 1606. "Those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. After dinner the representation of Solomon, his temple, and

the coming of the queen of Sheba was made, or (as I may better say) was meant to have been made . . . . . The lady who did play the queen's part, did carry most precious gifts to both their majesties; but forgetting a rising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap, and fell at his feet, though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up, and would dance with the queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber, and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen . . . . . The entertainment and shew went forward, and most of the presenters went backward or fell down; wine did so occupy their upper chambers. Now did appear in rich dress, Hope, Faith, and Charity. Hope did assay to speak, but wine did render her endeavours so feeble that she withdrew. Faith was then all alone, for I am certain she was not joyned with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover the multitude of sins her sisters had committed; in some sorte she made obeysance, and brought gifts . . . . She then returned to Hope and Faith, who were both sick and spewing in the hall\*."

: A partial insurrection in some of the inland counties rather alarmed the timid mind of James; it arose from a determination in the inhabitants of those parts to resist the encroachments made by the lords of manors to enclose lands which hitherto had been common. They were headed by one Reynolds, who obtained the name of captain Pouch, in consequence of an enormous pouch appended to his side, and which he pretended contained a spell that would insure success. The leader, with a few of the principal rebels, suffered the punishment of traitors, and the insurrection was then quelled. The monarch was at that time much interested in forming the union of Scotland with England; but which was not brought about then on account of the national aversion of the Scots to be considered as under subjection to England,

\* LINGARD, vol. ix. note, p. 109.



and the jealous pride of the lately ennobled English, who feared the necessity of yielding in precedence to the ancient Scottish nobility. The efforts of James could produce no more than to establish the naturalization of his subjects in both kingdoms; he then assumed, by proclamation, the title of king of Great Britain. But neither disappointment in his favourite scheme, nor any other occurrence, could check his profuse extravagance; he acted on all occasions as if it was the sole business of ministers to provide money, and his peculiar province to spend it. To such an extreme of poverty was the treasury reduced, that in 1608 an additional duty was imposed, by the crown, on every article of foreign commerce. For two years the king was ashamed to meet his parliament; and when at length he assembled the members, he answered the motion of inquiry into the legality of impositions, with a lecture on the divine authority of kings, who were judges of all, but accountable to none. He forbade them to dispute the right of levying impositions; but his prohibition was not heeded, and the subject continued to be discussed during that whole session. At its conclusion many petitions were presented; among them, one praying that, in cases of prosecution for criminal offences, the prisoner might be allowed to bring forward witnesses in his own defence. This was positively refused. The king said, his conscience would not permit his granting an indulgence that would multiply perjury. The repeated disappointments Cecil encountered in his endeavours to supply the wants of the treasury, had a sad effect on his health. In 1612 he tried the waters of Bath, but without receiving the desired benefit; and he expired at Marlborough on his way back to town.

At this period James had other matters to occupy his mind than the loss of his favourite minister, of whom Bacon said "he was a more fit man to keep things from getting worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better." Some officious courtier at this epoch informed the king of the private marriage of his cousin-german, Arabelle Stuart, with William Seymour, son of lord Beauchamp. An intimate friendship had existed between them from childhood.



and as James had always feared a rival in her claims, she being, as well as himself, a descendant from Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., he had, he thought, secured her a life of celibacy, as she resided in the palace, and received a pension from him. On learning this intelligence the king's apprehensions were doubled, since her husband was descended from Mary, the sister of Margaret. Determined on separating them, Seymour was committed to the Tower, and Arabella ordered to take up her abode in the city of Durham; but she refused to quit her chamber, upon which she was carried in her bed to the water-side, placed in a boat, and conveyed to the opposite bank. The king, ashamed of his conduct, remanded the order, and allowed her to remain a month at Highgate to recover her health. At the conclusion of the month she contrived, by putting on man's attire, to ride to Blackwall, from whence, going down the river, she went on board a French bark that had been engaged for the purpose. It was intended that Seymour, who, by personating the disguise of a physician, passed at the same time the western gate of the Tower unsuspected, should have accompanied Arabella; but the fears of the French captain would not allow him to wait, and Seymour got a collier, for the sum of forty pounds, to land him on the coast of Flanders. Meanwhile the unfortunate Arabella was retaken and brought to the Tower. To her petition for liberty James replied, "As she had tasted of the forbidden fruit, she must pay the forfeit of her disobedience." Disappointment on finding that her prayer was refused, caused her to sink into a desponding state, in which she expired in the fourth year of her confinement.

Perhaps it was the dread of some new claimant to the throne which caused James at that time to be so anxiously engaged in negotiations of marriage for his son Henry, and his daughter Elizabeth. For the heir-apparent the king's care was useless, as he died in the autumn of 1612, after a short illness, most probably brought on by excessive exercise. As he had ever followed the opinions of his mother in ridiculing his father's foibles, and had treated his abilities with contempt

there existed but little affection between them ; nor did the king affect much appearance of grief at his death : but the event somewhat delayed the marriage of the princess Elizabeth, for whose union with Frederick, count Palatine of the Rhine, great preparations were then in progress. Never had the English court appeared in such splendour as on the day of their nuptials, the 14th of February, 1613. The conduct of the princess, who laughed aloud during the performance of the ceremony, excited in the minds of the superstitious some ominous foreboding of misfortune. Historians have observed that, during the life of Cecil, James gave liberally to many of his countrymen, but he did not select any one of them as the peculiar object of his attachment ; but, as soon as the minister died, the king followed the bent of his inclination, and selected persons as favourites, who ruled him and his three kingdoms. The first of these was Robert Carr, of the family of Fernyherst, whose father had suffered severely in the cause of Mary Stuart. The plea of his services, added to his handsome person, obtained him the notice of his sovereign, who made him baron Branspath, viscount Rochester, and a knight of the garter. He filled many offices of the state, for which he was himself unequal, but availed himself of the talents and intriguing qualities of sir Thomas Overbury, who acted as his guide and adviser, until he opposed the union of Rochester with lady Essex. The king encouraged that plan, and even condescended to act the part of an advocate in the cause of divorce between the earl of Essex and his lady. Soon after the act of divorcement was announced, the king created his favourite earl of Somerset, and witnessed their marriage in his royal chapel—an union which extinguished the feuds that had long disturbed the councils of James, by reconciling the two opposing parties in the same political interest.

The death of the earl of Northampton opened the view to a fresh distribution of offices at court. Suffolk was made treasurer, and Somerset succeeded to the office of chamberlain ; while such inferior departments, as were not holden by *their relatives* and friends, were sold to the highest bidder.

Among the purchasers was George Villiers, the son of sir Edward Villiers of Brookesby, in the county of Leicester, a young man of fashionable manners, and whose features were prepossessing, and his person handsome. The pleasure with which the king spoke of his new cup-bearer, at an entertainment given at Baynard's castle, excited in the minds of the earls of Bedford, Pembroke, and Hertford, the notion of setting him up as a rival to Somerset.

Immediately the court was divided into two leading parties, each trying to overwhelm the other. The influence of Somerset was seen to decline, and a rumour respecting the death of Overbury, who had died suddenly in the Tower and was buried very precipitately, extended to a suspicion that he was poisoned; and on the king putting some questions to Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower, there appeared cause to doubt the innocence both of lady Somerset and his favourite the earl. The king ordered a warrant to commit the earl, but he did not, on this account, exclude him from the royal presence; but was found with him by the messenger who executed the warrant at Royston, embracing the cheeks of Somerset. When the latter complained of the insult offered him in the king's presence, James replied, "Nay, man, if Coke sends for me, I must go;" and added, after the earl turned his back, "The De'il go with thee, for I will never see thy face more\*." To Coke, the lord chief justice, James committed the investigation of the matter, saying, "May God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them; and on me and mine, if I pardon any."

The obligations which Coke owed to Somerset did not prevent his exercising the utmost power of his office to prove that the earl had been guilty of the murder. The art he possessed in discovering what was invisible to others, assisted him in construing many passages in Overbury's letters to his friends, touching Somerset's secrets, which he clearly saw alluded to the seditious and treasonable intention of the fallen favourite. The countess, who was accused of sorcery, was induced to confess the fact that Overbury had been poisoned;

\* LINGARD, vol. ix. page 154.

and Bacon, the attorney-general, tried every artifice to bring the earl to acknowledge his guilt; and when he could not, Bacon, by his insinuations, led the court to think it was evident from the conduct of the countess. Bacon knew that Coke was under the king's displeasure for having on more than one occasion acted in opposition to the will, and to the infallible judgment, of his royal master. Besides, though no person equalled Coke in legal knowledge, his proud and overbearing conduct had raised him powerful enemies; and his pretensions to the chancellorship, to which Bacon looked with equal confidence, had rendered the latter a watchful rival over the actions of the chief justice.

Somerset appeared at the bar cool and collected, and haughtily and ably maintained his innocence; nevertheless his peers found him guilty. He, however, as well as his countess, received the royal mercy. He survived the countess (who died in 1632) thirteen years.

The fall of Somerset was followed by the disgrace of Coke, which was a subject of great exultation to Bacon, who continued to practise that obsequiousness of conduct which in the end brought him to the point he had so long desired, namely, the office of lord chancellor.

In his foreign relations James courted peace. His disposition was timid and fearful, and the poverty of his treasury afforded no means to support a war; but in the field of controversy this monarch was a combatant. Not satisfied with depressing the puritans and attacking Bellarmine, the champion of the Catholics, he entered the lists of disputation with the Armenians and the Gomarists. He reminded his antagonists that the king of England was defender of the faith, and that it, consequently, became his duty to remand all abominable doctrines to hell; and he ordered his ambassador at the Hague to find out "some smart Jesuit, with a quick and nimble spirit, to bestow a few lines against the atheisms of Vorstius, the Armenian professor at Leyden." The result of a synod held at Dort on that occasion was, that seven hundred families of Armenians were driven into exile and reduced to beggary.

The union of the Scottish kirk with the English church was a principal subject entertained by James. He had desired it from the commencement of his reign, but the confident results then expected from his authority as "head of the church," and the opinion he had conceived of his own ability to settle all ecclesiastical matters, caused him to defer the attempt until he could take a journey to Scotland, which he was unable to undertake during the first fourteen years of his reign from the exhausted state of his finances. In 1616, some money having been received for the Dutch towns which were restored by James to the states, empowered him to make the promised journey, in which he was only able to establish episcopacy; the point about which he felt most anxious, as he considered it to be essentially necessary to monarchy. In Ireland the accession of James had been hailed as a blessing, as they saw in him the descendant of Fergus, who sprung from the ancient kings of Erin; but when they petitioned the monarch for the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and he imprisoned three of their deputies for their presumption in offering him such an insult, they bitterly lamented their disappointment, and endeavoured by remonstrance to ameliorate their fate, which was similar to that of the catholics in England. They obtained no redress until the policy of government granted a temporary suspension of their grievances for the purpose of establishing the tenure of lands in Ireland on the same security that they were in England. Under the pretence of executing this act of legislative justice, the possessors of lands were called upon to surrender their defective titles, for the purpose, it was stated, of receiving them back in a more valid form. By this system the power of the native lords fell, and the mass of the people, thus torn from the obedience they had hitherto borne to their original leaders, became the dupes of needy adventurers, who inflamed their passions, and prepared their minds for the rebellion which followed, and which rendered Ireland a scene of anarchy and confusion. Nor did it become tranquil during this reign; for, although king James made frequent attempts to civilize the people and to cultivate the country, yet as these efforts were all

made with a view to enrich the crown, the natives were averse to the civil injury done to them; and this feeling, added to the oppressive persecution which they suffered on account of the Catholic religion, engendered the feuds and massacres which afflicted the island for many years after.

In England, archbishop Abbot was more lenient to the Puritans than to the Catholics: the former he allowed to form separate and independent congregations; whilst, towards the latter, James found it necessary to restrain his zeal of persecution. Though the prisons at this time were crowded, but few suffered as traitors, and no new indulgences were granted: the fines continued to be levied on the recusants, and, according to the king's own account, brought in an annual income of thirty-six thousand pounds. The refusal to take the oath of allegiance, enacted in 1606, was punished with perpetual imprisonment, and, besides the Puritans and Catholics, a few Unitarians were added to the objects of religious malevolence; but when three of this persuasion had suffered at the stake, the king thought it better policy to limit the punishment to perpetual captivity.

The servility of Bacon has been previously noticed. On his acquiring the office of lord-keeper, he assumed a haughtiness of manner that was truly contemptible. Coke was trying at this period to reap some profit in his retirement, and shewed himself willing to marry his daughter to sir John Villiers, the brother of Buckingham,—an alliance which he had refused when in the height of his prosperity, and which Bacon now vainly endeavoured to prevent by his advice to the monarch, and by secretly advising lady Hatton, the wife of Coke, to oppose the match; but here he was foiled and humbled, and he again resorted to submission, as the means of his reconciliation with the favourite. The marriage took place, Coke was again received in the privy council, and Bacon enjoyed the chancellorship.

The favourite had filled several of the offices of state; honours had been showered upon him in the successive titles of earl, marquess, and duke, and his influence prevailed through every department: in the madness of his prosperity,

he accused his father-in-law, the earl of Suffolk, of speculation in his office of treasurer. During these silly proofs of attachment to the minion Buckingham, the harshness of James kept the brave Raleigh in confinement for a conspiracy which was never proved against him. In the Tower, however, which the earl of Northumberland had converted into a temple of the Muses, Raleigh published his history of the world: admiration of his talents effaced the recollection of his errors, and to the solicitations of Buckingham, James granted Raleigh his liberty; but kept the sentence of death till pending over him. He made use of his liberty to pursue the adventurous scheme he had planned to make Guiana as valuable to England as the possession of Peru was to Spain. Through the representation of secretary Winwood the king gave to Raleigh his permission; but Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, who saw further than James into the knight's intentions, communicated the plan to his brother, the governor of St. Thomas. The king had issued his positive commands to Raleigh, that he should not offer any offence to the subjects of Spain: but the adventurer acted in defiance of that order; he allowed part of the expedition to land near the settlement of St. Thomas, where they set fire to the town, and killed the brother of Gondomar who defended it. Raleigh himself had remained with the fleet at anchor, and when the party returned to him, with the account of what they had done, he loaded the commander Keymis with such abuse as caused him to retire to the cabin and put an end to his life. Raleigh, in despair of what had occurred, resolved in making some desperate attack by which he should obtain wherewith to purchase his pardon; but his followers forsook him, and he returned to the coast of England, where, trusting to his kinsman Stukely, whose friendship he thought he had secured by the present of a valuable diamond and a bond for one thousand pounds, he was betrayed, conveyed to London, and once more sent to the Tower. Gondomar demanded satisfaction of the sovereign. Raleigh was placed at the bar, where he pleaded for his life; but when he found that his execution was to take place in a few days, he displayed the

fortitude of a great character. He was fearless of death, submitted to it with firmness, delivering it as his opinion, and he had rather die in that manner than of a burning fever.

Of the queen we know little more than that she spent the latter part of her days in privacy, and that she died soon after the execution of Raleigh, in whose fate she took much interest, having engaged Buckingham to intercede for him with the king, as a favour she was entitled to ask of him with her first recommendation to James to her interest. In the same period the distinguished convert Marco Antonio de Dominis arrived in England. Educated a jesuit, he was employed by them as public professor at Verona and Padua, and was afterwards transferred to the bishopric of Lingua, and afterwards translated to the archbishopric of Spalatro. The displeasure of the pope at his taking part with the republic of Venice, induced him to seek an asylum in England. In 1617, having conferred with the established church, he was made dean of Windsor, and master of the Savoy, but publicly abjured the Protestant religion in 1622. He died the following year, but his language and conduct gave occasion to doubt his orthodoxy, judgment was pronounced against him by the Inquisition; and the dead body was burnt in the Piazzzi di Campo di Fiori\*.

Shortly before the close of this reign, James was unwillingly drawn into a war, by the fury of the religious fanaticism and the ambition of the elector Frederick, his son-in-law. The cause of the quarrel respected the erection of churches in the mountains of Bohemia; and the result was an insurrection, and an offer of the Bohemian crown to Frederick. His weak ambition led him to accept it, and the English urged James to assist his son-in-law to keep it, contrary to the just right of the emperor Ferdinand, who had been crowned king of Bohemia. To satisfy his subjects James sent four thousand men, under the earls of Essex and Oxford, to join the army "of the Protestant union." This unfortunate war ended in the loss of the lower Palatinate, and in the exile of Frederick, who wandered with his family, until

\* Somers Tracts, vol. ii. p. 30.



at the Hague, the states were induced to allow him a

loss of the Protestant cause abroad, induced their brethren to call down fresh persecution on the Catholics.

The parliament petitioned for all the penal laws which had been enacted against them to be carried into execution.

The commons next turned their attention to a jealous defence of their privileges, which they maintained had been infringed upon; and this was followed by a minute investigation of abuses, in which sir Edward Coke took a decided

part to which his great legal knowledge added considerable weight. This scrutiny was attended with the eradication of many great abuses, and a revival of the former

power to impeach public offenders before the house of commons.

The next object of their malevolence was the chancellor Francis Bacon, a man possessing strong natural

talents but whose ambition permitted him meanly to sue for preferment. He had been created lord Verulam,

and a new proof of the king's favour, had been made of St. Alban's. He was accused of receiving bribes from petitioners in chancery; he acknowledged his guilt, and

received the following severe sentence: to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds to the king, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and to be incapacitated from serving his

country in any office of dignity or emolument. The king, who greatly admired his talents, remitted his fine, and gave him liberty; but Bacon only survived his disgrace five

years and spent that time in literary productions, which still are to be considered the glory and ornament of the age in which he lived.

At the close of the business of the session in 1621, the wants of the kingdom, which had been stated at the opening, were neglected.

At its next meeting, the lord keeper, William Brouncker, who had received the great seal after the dismissal of Sir Thomas Egerton, was much embarrassed by a novel occurrence. Archbishop Abbot accidentally shot the keeper of lord Zouch at a

party. The verdict on the occasion was that of manslaughter; but it was contended that, by the ca-

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non law, he was incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment; and during the pending of this, and the question, whether the amusement of hunting were allowable to one of his rank and character, the four bishops elect refused to receive consecration from the metropolitan. James ordered a commission to decide this matter: it was proposed to choose the archbishop, and the king, as head of the church, pronounced the absolution by a commission composed of eight bishops.

At the re-assembling of the parliament in the following summer, the wants of the king were again forgotten in the public anxiety to aid the Palatine. The commons, as if determined to keep the king dependent on them for any supply demanded previously, on their part, a concession; and petitioned against the overgrowth (as they were pleased to term it) of popery. They prayed his majesty to take a vigorous part in the German war; to marry his son to a Protestant princess; and to appoint a commission to put in force all laws already made, and to be made against Papists, with other proposals operating against his ally, the king of Spain.

James considered the whole of this petition as an invasion of the royal prerogative. In his answer to the speaker he forbade the fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits in the lower house to inquire into the mysteries of state. This proved the commencement of a war of messages and recriminations between the king and his commons, and which ended in a protestation from them, shewing the liberties and jurisdictions of parliament, which the king on the same day tore from the journals with his own hand. After this he dissolved the parliament, and then proceeded to punish the popular leaders in both houses. But so far was the king from complying with the request of the commons that he would marry his son to a Protestant princess, that the object of his heart was to see prince Charles united to Donna Maria, the Infanta of Spain; and so near was this event taking place, that Gondomar, the Spanish, and Digby, the English, ambassador, had induced the two monarchs to sign the treaty.

by which the princess was to enjoy the unreserved of her religion. But her father was in no haste to his daughter, then only twelve years of age, to England, where her religion might be endangered. The terms of negotiation transpired, and caused the commons to send a petition above alluded to, and which led to the dissolution of the parliament. Mean time the king of Spain died, his son and successor, Philip IV. seemed favourable to the marriage of his sister with prince Charles, negotiations were renewed, and the pope was solicited to give dispensation. But this he refused until James should revoke the Catholics from the penal laws; upon which he issued his orders for the release of the Catholic rebels, and they were allowed the free exercise of their religion, but this only in their private houses. The payment of the portion allotted to the Infanta was settled, and the date of the marriage was fixed, when two persons, calling themselves John and Thomas Smith, arrived in Madrid, who were no other than the prince of Wales and the marquis of Buckingham, who had travelled in disguise, with attendants, sir Francis Cottington, Endymion Porter, Richard Graham. A journey so romantic, which had for object a complimentary visit to the Infanta, pleased the mind of Charles. On their way they ventured to a court ball at Paris, at which Charles saw his future bride, the princess Henrietta of France, then a beautiful girl; and thence they went forward to Madrid, where the prince arrived with the most lively testimony of joy: but in the journey was productive of no good; for it drew questions from the prince which were embarrassing, and which were probably suggested by Gondomar.

Charles asked his father how he should be induced to acknowledge the authority of the pope? "for we almost find," said Charles, "if you will be contented to acknowledge the pope's head under Christ, the match will be made without difficulty." To this James replies, that "he knows not what can be accomplished by acknowledging the pope's spiritual supremacy. He would not have him renounce his religion."

for all the world. Perhaps they allude to a passage in the book, where he says that if the pope would quit his god-head and usurping over kings, he would acknowledge me for chief bishop to whom all appeals of churchmen ought to lie *en dernier resort*. That is the furthest his conscience will permit him to go. He is not a monsieur who can shift his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt when he comes from tennis.\*

But James had the weakness to assure his son that the proceedings for the match should be concealed from the privy council; and he solemnly engaged to ratify whatever Baby Charles and the Dog Steenie, (terms which they assumed in their correspondence,) should conclude with the Spanish ministry. Here James allowed himself to be deceived. Philip was a minor, and the minister, Olivarez, was aware that all the responsibility rested on him. He knew that the clergy and the nobility of Spain were averse to the match; his cunning therefore drew the prince and Buckingham into reconsideration of the articles formerly agreed upon, that he might bring forward fresh objects as matter of debate. Buckingham, and Bristol the English ambassador at Madrid looked upon each other as rivals, and Olivarez had so much opportunity to watch the levity of the duke's manners, his unprincipled amours, and his familiarity with the prince's master, that he informed Philip, who was heard to declare his sister could never be happy with a husband who trusted to the friendship of such a man as Buckingham. Gregory XV., who had granted the dispensation, died, and another dispensation was required, which caused further delay, and further opportunity for the enmity of Buckingham and Olivarez to ripen into strong hatred.

Philip doubted the sincerity of James, whose conduct towards the Catholics he sought to prove before the Infanta should proceed to England. Their mutual suspicions created mutual want of confidence. At length the prince being weary of the business, and the duke having received intelligence

enemies were endeavouring to supplant him in the place of his royal master, they both resolved on returning home. Previous to their leaving Spain a stipulation was made and sworn to, that the marriage should take place ten days after the receipt of the papal answer, and Charles should be represented by Philip or his brother; but this was a mere feint, it being no longer the intention of James to fulfil his promise or his oath. Buckingham had been jealous of Bristol, and in order to procure his disgrace regardless of the king's honour. By his advice James informed the king of Spain that he should be found willing to enter into the marriage when Philip should pledge himself by his own signature, to take up arms in defence of the marriage. The Spanish monarch who, when Charles was in court, had declared his intention of aiding the son-in-law of James, now found that himself and his sister were insulted; he therefore countermanded the marriage preparations, and the Infanta resigned the title, she had by treaty assumed, of princess of England. Buckingham, who had vainly calculated on receiving the marriage dowry from Spain to supply his own wants, now found himself impelled to solicit his parliament, and he opened the session with an unusual appearance of humility. In consequence of the match being broken off, the duke of Buckingham made such a statement as he knew would suit the occasion; and read certain garbled extracts from a few discourses in support of that statement, assisted by prince Maurice, who stood near to aid his memory, and give his testimony to its truth. The earl of Bristol, in whose opinion it was to have exposed the fallacy, had been made prisoner on his return to England, and was not suffered to enter the court, nor to take his seat in parliament. The next point, in which both houses expressed the same opinion, was the propriety of opening a war against Spain, which was voted for that purpose; upon which the archbishop of Canterbury expressed his satisfaction that the king had become sensible of the insincerity of the Spaniards. He said his majesty; "you insinuate what I have

never spoken ; give me leave to tell you that I have never expressed myself to be either sensible of their good or bad dealing. Buckingham hath made you a relation, on which you are to judge ; but I never yet declared my mind upon it."

A joint petition from the lords and commons being presented to enforce the penal statutes against Catholic priests and recusants, James called God to witness "that it had never been his intention to dispense with those laws ; and moreover, promised that he would never permit, in any treaty whatsoever, the insertion of any clause imparting indulgence or toleration to the Catholics." And his son Charles then bound himself by an oath, "that whensoever it should please God to bestow upon him any lady that were popish, she should have no further liberty but for her own family, and no advantage to the recusants at home." However, it was not the wish of James to persecute the Catholics, only so far as was necessary to satisfy his Protestant subjects, and the petition was allowed to be forgotten. The commons, as they had done in other sessions, presented their list of grievances, to which the king replied by stating *his* grievances, whereof they had encroached on his ecclesiastical authority, and various other matters ; but his list concluded with a severe remark on the lawyers, whom he pronounced to be the "greatest grievance" in his kingdom.

There were, at this time, two persons who had fallen under the displeasure of the favourite ; these were Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, and the bishop of Lincoln. The first was impeached by the commons for bribery, oppression, and neglect in his office of treasurer, and master of the court of wards ; and though James pleaded in his behalf, and Cranfield maintained his innocence with spirit, the influence of Buckingham prevailed over truth ; the earl was fined, imprisoned, and for ever excluded from parliament.

The bishop of Lincoln filled the office of lord keeper ; but by humbling himself to the prince, and doing a service to Buckingham, ensured his safety. But at this period the haughty and overbearing conduct of Buckingham, in

venting any persons from seeing the king in private, had raised a formidable party against him. At the head of these were the marquis Ynoiosa, and Don Carlos Coloma, the Spanish ambassadors; one of whom engaged the attention of Buckingham, while his friend took the opportunity of delivering a note to James, which the monarch secreted in his pocket. The note prepared the king to receive in his closet a clandestine visit from Carendolet, secretary to the legation, who stated to his majesty that he was a prisoner in his own place; that the people were governed by a man, who, to gratify his private revenge, was drawing his benefactor into a unjust and impolitic war. The bishop of Lincoln at that time kept in his pay Carendolet's mistress, who gave him the information and the opportunity of making his peace with Buckingham, by informing him of the circumstance.

The duke thus expressed himself to his royal patron. "In obedience to your commands I will tell the house of parliament that you have taken such a fierce rheum and cough, that, not knowing how you will be this night, you are not yet able to appoint them a day of hearing; but I will forthwith to tell them that, notwithstanding of your cold, you were able to speak with the king of Spain's instruments, though not with your own subjects\*."

But Carendolet made the king a second visit, in which he informed his majesty that Buckingham was in league with the duke of Oxford and Southampton, and many of the commanders, to whom he communicated all the secrets of the state; and further said, that there was an intention to unite the daughter of the favourite with the son of the Palatine. The king declared himself grieved to be thus deserted by those he loved best; and though he was unwilling to think his son, and the man whom he had loaded with benefits, could act so unwisely towards him, his conduct showed that he was suspicious of their loyalty. The court and the council well knew the fact to be as it had been stated to the king; but as the prince

continued to confide in the favourite, their venality overpowered their honesty, and everything went forward under the management of Buckingham. The recovery of the Palatinate was the avowed object to be obtained, and ambassadors were sent wherever they were likely to raise arms against the house of Austria. To Sweden and to the Protestant authorities in Germany, and proposed to depress the Catholic power throughout the empire, and to this "holy alliance" some of the princes, who were enemies to Austria, sent secret ambassadors.

During these warlike preparations the king's attention was occupied with forming a marriage between his son and princess Henrietta Maria, the sister of the French king. A treaty in favour of it was signed by James and the Pope. This was more favourable to the Catholics than the treaty for the Spanish match. It restored to liberty those who had been imprisoned for religion since the rising of the Earl of Essex; all fines levied since that period on recusants were to be repaid; and they were to enjoy unmolested the exercises of their religion. When every arrangement for the marriage and its solemnization had been completed for the marriage, its solemnization was deferred by the sudden illness and death of the king, on the 27th of March, in the year 1625.

He died at Theobald's, from whence his body was conveyed to Somerset-house. After remaining there for some days, it was conveyed to Westminster-abbey, where it was buried with great pomp and solemnity. The king left two sons, Charles, and his daughter Elizabeth, the titular queen of Bohemia.

In a funeral sermon preached on that occasion by William Williams, is this allusion to the religious sentiments of James, as expressed three days before his death: "I told that men in holy orders in the church of England should not challenge a power as inhærent in their function as in their person, to renounce and declare remission of sins; such as being penitent do call for the same; he said, *suddenly*, 'I have ever beleev'd there was not power



in orders in the church of England, and, therefore, miserable sinner, doe humbly desire Almighty God to forgive me of my sinnes, and you, that are his servant in this place, to afford me this heavenly comfort.' And the absolution read and pronounced hee received the same with that zeale and devotion as if hee had not been a vile man, but a cherubin cloathed with flesh and

### CHARACTER OF JAMES I.

His preceptor Buchanan this king had imbibed the belief that a sovereign ought to be the most learned clerk in his kingdom." James possessed quickness of apprehension and clear judgment; but these qualities were so frustrated by forwardness, and his frequent vacillations, that more was to be thought with the duke of Sully, who pronounced him "the wisest fool in Europe," than with his flatterers who denominated him the British Solomon. There was a habitual indolence about him, which caused James to neglect his duties and his interest to the enjoyment of his ease. He sanctioned acts in his son and in his father which his heart condemned, rather than take the trouble of contending with them. It was unfortunate for the country that James was born to fill a throne, since he had neither the spirit nor resolution to act as became a sovereign, and his weaknesses were more conspicuous from his elevated position, particularly at a period when the general diffusion of knowledge rendered men eager to discern and to exaggerate the defects of their superiors. The reign is distinguished by the establishment of English colonies in America. In 1606 a settlement in Virginia was made by companies in London and Bristol, who provided the colony with provisions, utensils, and new inhabitants. Sir Thomas Lawar became the governor of the English colonies; the establishing of them was not effected without very great difficulties. The first lottery known in England was

\* *Somer's Tracts*, p. 51. Edit. of 1809.

for their support. The cultivation of tobacco proved most profitable in that soil, which caused the king to allow its being brought to this country, notwithstanding his aversion to smoking was such, that he called it the image of hell: "the smoke he likened to the vanities of the world; like them it caused a passing pleasure, made men's heads light and drunken therewith, and bewitched men's hearts, so that they could not quit the habit; besides that it was loathsome and stinking like hell, so that were he to invite the devil to dinner he would provide him a pig, a poll of ling and mustard, and a pipe of tobacco to help his digestion." \*

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### CHARLES I.

THERE was much to damp the spirits of Charles on his accession to the throne. The personal debts left by his father amounted to the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds; and besides the two great parties, hitherto known as the country and the court party, then first distinguished by the terms of Whig and Tory, there was also a third, called the Saints, or Zealots, whose great aim was to eradicate popery. To all these the ascendancy maintained by Buckingham was viewed with zealous fear, since his influence with the present monarch seemed even to exceed that which he had obtained in the preceding reign. He had acquired a rapid fortune without merit, and was, consequently, an object of envy. Impetuous in his disposition, he raised his friends suddenly to the highest pinnacle of fortune, from which he as suddenly hurled them, on their giving the slightest cause of offence; and as his flatterers were always apprehensive of incurring displeasure, he had become exceedingly unpopular throughout the kingdom. Charles was just twenty-five years of age. His first duty was to complete his engagement with the F

is ; his next, to call a parliament. The marriage was by the nation as a pledge of the eternal union of the ~~ts~~ of France and England. The nuptial ceremony was ~~ned~~ on a platform before the door of the cathedral in ~~whither~~ the duke of Buckingham went to conduct the ~~bride~~ to England. She was accompanied by the queens, ~~f~~ Medici, and Anne of Austria ; and Charles received ~~s~~ at Dover. The ceremony was publicly performed in ~~at~~ hall in Canterbury ; but the matrimonial procession ~~ndon~~ was deferred in consequence of the ravages of ~~ming~~ distemper : the royal couple therefore retired to ~~on~~ Court, from whence the king came the next day to ~~ne~~ the first session of his reign, which he did in very ~~gra-~~ language. But the speech was received with murmurs, ~~e~~ forebodings of fanaticism hastened to present a " pious ~~on~~ to the king," praying him to put into immediate ex- ~~e~~ all the existing laws against Catholics.

~~is~~, at the moment he had married a Catholic princess, ~~not~~ unwelcome to the king ; however, he subdued his ~~gs~~, and returned a satisfactory answer.

~~fore~~ any settlement could be made regarding the finances ~~rown~~, the parliament adjourned to Oxford, in conse- ~~e~~ of the mortality that raged in the metropolis, and ~~reached~~ Oxford a few days after. At this time the royal ~~old~~ was brought to such a state by the want of supplies, ~~e~~ king borrowed three thousand pounds of the corpora- ~~f~~ Salisbury and Southampton, to purchase provisions for ~~le~~. Three months later, an expedition, under sir Edward ~~created~~ lord Wimbledon, sailed for Cadiz, and re- ~~in~~ December, with the loss of a thousand men from ~~acts~~ of a pestilential disease. This result was a most ~~disappointment~~ to Charles, who, through the per- ~~ms~~ of his favourite, had calculated on the triumph of ~~. Nor~~ was it less irritating to Buckingham, to whose ~~or~~ revenge the undertaking might with truth have been ~~ted~~.

~~while~~ Buckingham governed the king, he was himself ~~e~~ of lord Kensington, lately made earl of Holland

Together, these noblemen took the crown-plate and jewels to the Hague, expecting to raise upon those articles ~~one~~ <sup>one</sup> hundred thousand pounds. In the mean time Charles was involved in perplexity how to conduct himself, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> the secret treaty he had made at his marriage in favour of Catholics, and at the same time perform the promises he had solemnly entered into with his parliament; and he was obliged to sacrifice the private treaty. Louis sent an extraordinary ambassador to insist on the observance of his pledge; but Charles dared not meet his parliament without trying their petition into effect, as the Commons were resolved not to be satisfied with the mere promise of remission; and when the two houses assembled a few weeks before the coronation of the king, the Commons, under a pretext of the grievances of the state had their rise in the increase of popery, had recourse to more severe enactments against the followers of the ancient creed.

They also formed a committee of inquiry into the evils, their causes, and their remedies; and then informed the king of a discovery they had made, namely, that the Duke of Buckingham was the real cause of, and his punishment would be the real remedy for, the national evils. He was accordingly impeached before the upper house. This proceeding was followed by accusations of different members of each party, and recriminations from all. The king found that his demands for supplies were totally neglected, and in the heat of emotions of his anger he confined the earl of Arundel, under a frivolous excuse that he had married without the royal license, but, in reality, to revenge the cause of Buckingham, to whom Arundel was a known enemy. This measure, however, brought unlooked-for mortifications; for the lords considering it a breach of their privileges to imprison the earl during the session, unless for felony or treason to the king, suspended the proceedings of the house until they obtained the liberty of their colleague. They then stated that the earl of Bristol had been unjustly withheld from taking his seat in that house, in order to prevent his testimony against the Duke of Buckingham, whom he had solicited permission to prove was guilty of the crime.

is crimes and misdemeanors. He offered to bring the facts of Buckingham having conspired with Gondra the prince into Spain ; of having disgraced his profligate manners in the Spanish court, and off the match in resentment for their refusal to rther with so depraved a minister ; and of having, to England, deceived his sovereign and the parlia- lse representations. These charges were un- y the duke, and his silence would have been cknowledgment of the truth, had he not excused ; he had matter of higher importance to contend was his impeachment by the House of Commons. as Hyde assisted him to make his defence, which arable impression on the peers. The Commons a replication, and requested that the duke might be from the royal presence ; but Charles prevented g presented by hastily dissolving the parliament. ing, under his pecuniary embarrassments, was obliged re-ourse to means hitherto unpractised, to procure ssary supplies. The demands of his Danish and allies, added to the difficulties he encountered at the loss of a battle, which brought the existence of ism in Germany to the lowest ebb, induced the king forced loan. He endeavoured to justify this arbi- ure by a promise that every farthing thus obtained ving subjects should be faithfully returned by their vereign, out of future subsidies. Notwithstanding ation, the names of many who refused were re- the commissioners. Of these the rich were im- while the poor were ordered “ to serve with their d were enrolled in the army or navy.

eriod Buckingham appeared at the head of a large e Rochelle. The armament, consisting of a hun- was supposed to be destined against Spain, since order was, that it should act in the service of the out the private instructions directed that it should urbour of Rochelle, and proceed to the islands of eron. In palliation of this appearance of hos-

ilities where war was not expected, Buckingham that his royal master had no intention of conquest, took up arms as an ally of the churches in France. Expedition terminated in an unfortunate retreat, and some thousands of the troops. On the return of B such was the attention of his royal patron, that he to attribute the cause of defeat to his own inability necessary supplies.

The mission had for its object to arm the French against their sovereign. That Charles should with the brother of his consort was to all a matter but many attributed it to the revenge of Buckingham presumption had led him to offer himself as a lover of Austria; which, being considered a great insult he had refused to receive the duke as ambassador as Charles had dismissed the foreign establishment of six months after her arrival in England, and had also to perform the private treaty which he had made in his Catholic subjects; besides offering much unpopularity to the wishes of his queen. Yet harmony restored by the mediation of Bassompierre, ambassador extraordinary from Louis to the English monarch. having stirred the Rochellois to rebellion, found bound in honour to support their efforts in the cause, and proposed to his parliament to raise a second expedition in their behalf; a means he have pursued, could he have obtained another royal prerogative, as appears from the following "I have assembled you together," said the king, a parliament to be the ancient, speediest, and to give such supply as to secure ourselves and save from imminent ruin. Every man must now do as his conscience; wherefore, if you (which God forbid) not do your duties in contributing what this state needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use other means which God hath put into my hands, to which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard

threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my  
an admonition from him, that both out of  
hath most care of your preservations and

thus did the king endeavour, by alternate  
cessions, to mollify the hearts of his parlia-  
bduing their obstinacy in contending for their

obtaining from the king relief for their nu-  
es, until Charles resolved to dissemble, and  
such as he thought would satisfy his people  
the assistance he wanted. But the commons

explicit explanation of his intentions, upon  
aid from the throne, " Let right be done as  
d added, " I have performed my part. If  
have not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours.

t." This short speech dispersed the clouds  
pended over the king and the nation ; but  
porary, as in ten days after an exposure of  
be the result of an excess of power given to,  
Buckingham, were stated in a remonstrance  
aving it to his majesty's consideration how  
safe for himself and for the realm that such  
continue near his sacred person.

r petition could be read the parliament was  
the advantages it had gained by the king's  
e bill of rights, established the liberties of  
rendered posterity their debtors. But they  
strenuously for their civil rights were the  
to freedom in religion, and renewed their soli-  
er rigour towards the Catholics, which Charles  
ying, that if Catholic princes did not grant  
ce to their Protestant subjects, he would even  
erities, the execution of which had been re-  
his faithful parliament. In this declaration  
e on the protestant Rochellois, who had con-  
nises, and from whom he received frequent  
*f their misery.*

ad resumed his command of the reinforce-

to bereave him of life was to serve his God, his country—that he felt no enmity to the duke, but him had prayed, “ May God have mercy on th the time Felton killed the duke, he had about paper, of which the following is a copy ; the o the collection of Mr. Upcott, of the London Inst

“ That man is Cowardly base and deserveth no of a gentleman oʳ Souldier that is not willinge to life for the honor of his God his Kinge and his Lett noe man commend me for doeinge of it, but commend themselves, as the ca<sup>u</sup>se of it, for if God taken oʳ harts for oʳ sinnes he would not have gone unpunished. Jo f

That the duke of Buckingham possessed many fa qualities, accompanied by a graceful person and manners, seem to have been the chief recommend which he obtained the partial favour of two succeed narchs. In temper he was rash, impetuous, and o and had he escaped the knife of the assassin, he wo probably have finished his career on the scaffold. severance in urging the king to trample on the liber subjects and the self confidence with which he br



erely disappointment, but severe self-reproach, his management, the strongest support of the interest had fallen.

sembling of the parliament, in 1629, different again presented on the subject of grievances, as of the increase of popery, and "its spawn

While the party, named the Saints, called the petition to religious objects, the patriots claimed his petition of right, of which fifteen hundred copies were prepared for circulation, but which the king ordered suppressed, to make room for another edition in royal assent was withheld. This act branded the Charles with the stigma of duplicity, and rendered of no avail; so that the indignation of his was so fearlessly expressed, that he found it prudent to appease their anger by a conciliatory speech from the throne. Such was the tumult in the House of Commons on this occasion, that when the speaker informed the members that the king had ordered an adjournment of the house, they rushed to the speaker, by locking the door, and holding him in his chair, to hear sir John Elliot read a remonstrance against the whole government. This conduct being contrary to former precedent, caused Charles to issue a proclamation, in which he shewed it was his intention to govern in England without the intervention of his parliament.

His advisers were those who had been the friends of James: some of them filled important offices, but where their principles had been changed by the influence of the king: by the favour of the sovereign, in conferring titles and honours; and several of the members of the council were devoted to the pursuit of pleasure than to that of duty.

by denying the monopoly of power to Weston, and Buckingham, which he had given to Buckingham, shewed that he had gained some knowledge by experience. Sir Weston, by aiding the king in all his arbitrary measures, increased the revenue, and gained the hatred of the people; while Laud, an obsequious clergyman, who had

climbed with slow but certain steps the ladder of preferment, marshalled the church in conformity to the royal precepts with only one conspicuous fault in his religious conduct—marrying his first patron, Mountjoy, to the lady <sup>Rich</sup> whose husband was still living: for this act he <sup>condemned</sup> ~~condemned~~ exceedingly. He watched with unremitting attention the interest of the church; while the king, in order to settle the disputes which agitated the public, forbade controversial subjects should be treated upon in the church; he often sent numbers of the Puritans to people the wilderness of New England in America. No threats, however, could moderate the zeal of a minister named Leighton, who published an entitled “An Appeal to Parliament, or Sion’s Complaint,” used language so inflammatory as to draw the notice of Laud.

Leighton was brought before the peers, who adjured him to undergo the following extraordinary punishment—he was degraded from the ministry, was publicly whipped in the palace-yard, stood two hours in the pillory, and had his nose cut off, a nostril slit open, and a cheek branded with a cross to denote a sower of sedition. At the end of six months Leighton had a second whipping, and was again put in the pillory; he then lost the other ear, had the other nostril slit, and was branded on the other cheek. Thus cruel and mutilated, he was conducted back to prison; finding mercy from Charles, he remained in confinement several years, and was then liberated by the parliament when he went out in arms against the king.

As the king and his prelate Laud were thought by the Puritans to be favourably disposed to the ancient Catholics, Catholics were excluded from the queen’s chapel at St James’s house. Each recusant was compelled to sacrifice sometimes a third, of his yearly income for the privilege of absence from the Protestant form of worship; even this was received as an indulgence—and the saints considered this a criminal indulgence—in a Protestant sovereign.

In politics Charles vacillated so often in his opinions, that he *shewed* so much insincerity in his conduct, that

France and Spain regarded him rather as a forward child, a formidable enemy. His attention, though often deflected by the efforts of a patriotic party who opposed his measures with much success, was chiefly bestowed upon the improvement of the revenue, which he increased by new modes and fines, particularly by that of checking the erection of new buildings. In the Stafford papers is an instance of "a Mr. Moor, who having erected selling-houses, with stables and coach-houses, in the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, was fined 1000*l.*, to pull them down before Easter under the penalty of 1000*l.* He disobeyed, and the sheriffs destroyed the houses, and levied the money by distress."

The want of foresight in Charles led him to endeavour to transfer his treasury from Scotland, by resuming the possession of the ecclesiastical property which had fallen to the crown at the time of the reformation; but in pursuing this plan, though he added much to the revenue, he lost the affection and attachment of the Scottish nobility, and during his visit to Scotland in 1633, he met with opposition whenever he attempted to enforce the episcopal jurisdiction.

On the death of archbishop Abbot, he was succeeded by a zealous advocate of the Protestant faith against the Catholics, but the latter were suspicious, and misconstrued his motives, and set them into a predilection for the Catholics, and he manifested his real sentiments by earnestly persecuting the recusants. Laud, however, had some powerful enemies, and among them bishop Williams, and Prynne, a barrister of the Inner Temple, the latter a morose character, who published a surprising one thousand pages, against plays, dances, and amusements of every kind; but having reflected on the conduct of the king and his consort, the passage was read aloud, who ordered that Prynne should be indicted for libel on the ground of libel. His punishment was severe; but his spirit continued undaunted, and he, with his disciples, were sent out of the country.

Laud may be said to have waged war with all who

differed from him in religious opinions, so he began to say the persecutions served as fines, as those fines formed a fund for cathedral.

The next object that came under the missionaries was the recovery of certain brought immense sums into the royal treasury, feared that a great part of the benefit would fall into the hands of the king: levying of ships for the service of which he expected would avail him great augmentation of the Palatinate, as he had a treaty with the king of Spain for levying ship-money in right of the crown. John Hampden, a patriot who refused to pay an assessment on his ship. On the merits of this opinion; but the trial terminated in his favour.

Ireland was alike treated by Charles. The deputy was haughty, and impatient of punishment. Like James for his motto; and, his views: it was the duty of the deputy to exercise despotic conduct. Ireland was raised to his defence. Went to Ireland during the rebellion, mentioned his manufacture of

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arbitrary government of Charles. In vain did he endeavour to bend the stubborn spirit of his countrymen from the period, in 1616, when his father had passed them an act for the new service-book, which contained concessions that were hateful to every orthodox. As tending to abolish the use of extemporary prayer, and subjecting them to episcopacy, they watched with anxiety the proceedings of the court, and were ready, on any occasion, to unite in the defence of the kirk. The

Laud to establish the English liturgy lighted the fire of dissension throughout Scotland; but the publishing of the new authority a new code of ecclesiastical law, and a change of church service caused the flames to rage with violence that nearly alarmed Charles in his turn. "On the appointed day for the first reading the new service in the high church of Edinburgh, which was selected for the cathedral, no sooner had the dean commenced than the women of all ranks exclaimed that the mass was entered, that Baal was in the church. They upbraided the minister with the most infamous names and epithets; they brandished at him the staves which they were accustomed to sit on, and even cast them in the direction of the pulpit. The dean, alarmed at the tumult, resigned the post of honour to his superior in rank and courage, the bishop; but no sooner did that prelate open his mouth, than his voice was drowned amidst the shouts of fox, wolf, belly-god (an allusion to his corpulency), and a few moments a stool, which, flung from a strong arm, fell close by his ear, admonished him to make a speedy retreat. In this stage, the magistrates, by their firmness, succeeded in excluding the most riotous from the church; the doors were locked, and the service proceeded notwithstanding repeated interruptions from showers of stones, which were cast at the windows, and from loud cries from the people of 'a pape, a pape, antichrist, stane him, pull him out.' At the conclusion the prelate departed in haste to his residence, which were at a small distance; but he was overpowered by a crowd of female saints, who threw him on the ground and rolled him in the mire. In the afternoon pre-

cautions were taken, and the service was read with little interruption to a thin and select auditory: but the bishop, on his appearance in the street, would have met with the fate of St. Stephen, had not the earl of Roxburgh snatched him from martyrdom, and afforded him an asylum in his carriage. The women, however, followed, shouting and hurling stones, till the gates of Holyrood-house closed upon him, and disappointed the vengeance of his pursuers\*."

The king was surprised, but he was also undecided, and slow in adopting measures, and that delay added strength to the opposing party. Crowds of petitioners came to Edinburgh and to preserve the peace a "table" or "board" was formed, consisting of representatives who selected from each shire four members, and these composed a committee who inquired into all questions, and exercised an authority which in a few weeks became formidable under their leaders, Bothwell, Merino, Lindsay, Lothian, Loudon, Yester, and Crombie. After a succession of contested opinions, a new covenant was composed, containing a profession of the doctrine, discipline, and discipline of the kirk, to which was attached the oath wherein they bound themselves, "by the great name of the Lord their God," to defend the true religion, to resist all contrary errors and corruptions, and to stand in defence of the king. On an appointed day the covenanters, whose number were as a hundred to one of their opponents, met in the church of St. Giles, and swore to the contents of the covenant.

Charles consulted the privy council which had been established on his father's accession to the throne for the management of the affairs of Scotland, and they advised that he should suppress the covenant by open force. While preparations were making for that purpose, he sent the marquis of Hamilton with private instructions; but the insincerity of the king had taught the covenanters to suspect the reality of his intentions. Hamilton found every proposal was opposed by numbers, and he saw so clearly the storm that was breaking over his country, that, in deep distress of mind, he

\* LINGARD, vol. x., pp. 56, 57.

etter to the king, that he wished to be divorced  
py Scotland."

Charles issue the royal mandate for the coven-  
erse. With the earl of Argyle at their head,  
the order illegal, and proceeded to train their  
e, determined to meet the expected army of  
the sword of defiance. France offered them  
d in the cardinal Richelieu, who, by sending a  
sent of money, felt he was revenging the assist-  
afforded by the English to the rebel Huguenots

nd his English subjects on that occasion very  
me even declined taking the oath of allegiance  
as intended that they should bind themselves  
covenanters as rebels. The armies met at  
they headed the covenanters, who were twenty  
ng, all ready to shed their blood in the cause.  
nd eve the camp were summoned to their de-  
t of drum ; and on their ensigns was this motto,  
Scottish arms, " for Christ's crown and the  
o them Charles opposed an equal number of  
were men who disapproved of the proceedings  
ment, and who conceived that the suppression  
ey were brought to oppose would render their  
oppression still more difficult, and, therefore,  
in performing their duty.

of the Scottish army before Kelso, the English  
the earl of Holland, turned their backs ; and  
e preparations terminated in a pacific treaty,  
Charles in person, and signed by the monarch  
is of the covenanters of Berwick. The king  
s treaty to summon a parliament at Edinburgh  
of August, to consider upon civil matters ; and  
me to call an ecclesiastical assembly, to which  
er the questions on religion ; both of which he  
erintendence of Fraquaire. Having given him  
concede certain points, which he meant after-  
ke, Fraquaire found himself obliged to act

with a duplicity which his heart and conscience severely condemned; and in this unsatisfactory state of things the mode left him was to prorogue the Scottish parliament. Meantime Charles, who saw the desire of the commons to suppress his authority, conceived the only sure way to obtain their obedience was to use force; but before he could summon his English parliament, he authorized Wentworth, whom he had created earl of Strafford, (to reward his subservience and to give him greater influence in the council) to vote for a subsidy in the Irish parliament, in order that it should form a precedent to the English members, who were required to assemble soon after; and as they had not met for some years, the people looked to the session as affording them relief. At its opening the king repeated his demand for money; the Commons heard his complaint with indifference, giving their whole attention to the grievances of the nation, to which subject they asked the co-operation of the Lords. In vain did they maintain in the upper house that the wants of the king should be first supplied; the Commons would not yield, and during their debate Charles prorogued the parliament, and the hopes of the people on that point withered in despair. The public disappointment was followed by various new signs of dissatisfaction. The advocates of republicanism, many of whom were to be found in both houses, who voted against episcopacy, informed the covenanters of their readiness to join them in support of their rights and liberties; the lower classes called upon the apprentices to meet in St. George's fields to "hunt William," the brother of the parliament, for they aimed their revenge at archbishop Laud even more than at Strafford, who influenced the commons; and before night five hundred rioters had assembled. The convocation were all the while employed in forming new institutions after the wishes of the king and the archbishop, and an additional oath of adherence to the government of the church of England placed all separatists on a like footing with the Catholics.

Preparations for war were made by the English and the Scots; but the poverty of Charles, and the prudent forethought



enanters, rendered the latter decisive and unanimous that they were ready for the attack when the English only beginning their progress. Under Lesley they crossed the Tweed, and at the same time published a declaration "that they marched, not against the people of Scotland but against the Canterburian faction of Papists, Arminians, and prelates: that God and their consciences bore them testimony that their object was the peace of kingdoms, by punishing the troubles of Israel, the sinners of hell, the Korahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Akahs, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and Sandballats, &c., after which they would return with satisfaction to their native country."

Lord of Strafford, who, under the king, acted as commander-in-chief, ordered the general of the horse to oppose them in the passage of the Tyne: the attempt was made, and ended in the defeat of the English. Although the Scots were encouraged with the prospect of victory, they did not: it would mar their interest to rouse the spirit of revenge in their enemies, and, therefore, they resolved on disguising themselves in the guise of petitioners to their king.

The king signified his willingness to receive their petition and summoned the English peers to meet him at Newcastle for the purpose of considering them; for, as the Commons had shewn themselves to be refractory, he preferred not to call a full parliament; but numerous petitions obliged him to pursue the usual way, and a full parliament was summoned.

## CHAPTER IX.

### CHARLES I. (CONTINUED.)

When the Scots passed the Tyne they acted with the greatest moderation; but no sooner did they find a fair opportunity, than scruples regarding the lawfulness of plunder gave place to avarice. They exacted weekly contributions of money from the people, and took other commodities for their

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to law or justice. In the commencement of his career Strafford was the most strenuous advocate of the people; but, from the time that he belonged to the court, he was the most devoted champion of the crown. His influence was dreaded, and, therefore, when it was known that he was in London, the Commons proceeded to debate measures on the subject of his impeachment; and the young Pym, one of their principal leaders, accused Strafford of high treason at the bar of the House of Commons also instituted an inquiry into the conduct of Bishop Laud, and a few days after he also was impeached at the bar of the upper house; and others who had advocated the levying of ship-money were either executed or they avoided the evil by early absconding to Holland.

Embarrassed by his contention with Scotland, and by the undisguised dissatisfaction of his subjects, he felt unequal to the difficulties of his situation, and was impatient to the final conclusion of the war which he had entered into with the covenanters; but he was displeased with their union with the country faction, and held a belief that both must stand or fall together, and he retained their forces in England, until they should have executed the projected plan of reforming the abuses of the state.

The members of the covenant directed their labours to the reformation of the episcopacy, and the establishment of the presbyterian church government. But here opinion was much divided, when the majority was in favour of the anti-episcopal party, the king declared that his conscience would not permit him to put down an order which he considered essential to Christianity. The debates between the different parties rose to such a height, that the king found himself obliged to order to conciliate the public mind, to adopt a middle path, by which the bishops would be shorn of some of their powers. With this the enemies of episcopacy were themselves satisfied, and the trial of Strafford con-

Westminster Hall was fitted up for the occasion, and presented, during the thirteen days which the trial lasted, a grand and imposing spectacle. Two boxes for the king and the queen were prepared behind the throne; a gallery erected which was mostly filled with ladies; the Commons were placed on elevated benches on each side of the hall; a bar reaching across the hall left one-third of it for the public. Before seven o'clock each day the hall was at nine the prisoner entered. Never, perhaps, did any man encounter such numerous foes. The Scots called for blood for having urged their king to make war upon them. The Irish detailed, under sixteen heads, the grievances they had suffered under his despotic government; and the English House of Lords issued an order, to which the king assented, that the privy councillors should be examined on oath regarding the advice given by Strafford at the board. In regard to the latter charge, a document was produced containing short notes in the writing of the secretary, of a debate at the council-table, in which Strafford was made to say:—"Your Majesty, having tried the affection of your people, is absolved and loosed from all rule of government, and let what power will admit. Having tried all ways, and being refused, you shall be acquitted before God and man; *you have an army in Ireland, that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience*: for I am confident that they cannot hold out five months\*."

To obtain evidence on this charge, all the members were examined, except Windebank and Laud; and all with the exception of Pym, to whom sir Henry Vane had privately shown the notes, (for it was he who had purloined the document from his father's cabinet) declared they had no recollection of the words. When the managers found they had failed in their attempt, they resolved to produce the short notes; and when in view, on the morning on which Strafford was to enter his defence, they asked leave to bring further evidence, to which the Lords replied, that the same favour that should be granted to the accusers should be granted to the accused: for the

\* LINGARD, vol. x. p. 121.

their opinions had, during the trial, changed the earl. The Commons, who formed the house, disapproving of this temper in the earl's own house, where, having deliberated in closed doors, they determined to abandon the amendment, and adopt that of attainder, and to that effect. It was opposed in every stage, by eloquent lord Digby, whose decisive speech was, not proving available to the cause,

On the following morning the names of the appellants were placarded under the appellation, *who, to save a traitor, were willing to* " In the mean time the Lords listened to him as though they were ignorant of the bill. His eloquence, and concluded in these words: "In the present misfortune, it may hereafter be provided for by your lordships, the shedding of blood for the shedding of yours: you, and your posterity be at stake. If such learned gentlemen's tongues are well acquainted with such matters, they shall be started out against you; if your counsel shall be denied access to you; if your counsel shall be admitted witnesses against you; if any objection, or circumstance be sifted and alleged against it because of any statute, but because of a bad construction pieced up in a high rhetoric, I leave it to your lordships' consideration to determine the issue of such a dangerous and recent

When he told me, they speak in defence of the earl against their arbitrary treason. This, my lord, is for your posterity. For myself, were it not for the interest of a saint in heaven, there were two pledges upon earth:" (at these words he appeared to stop, and tears ran down his face, but in a pause he resumed :) "were it not for this, I should have the pains to keep up this ruinous cottage, but I never leave the world at a fitter time,

when I hope the better part of the world think that, by this my misfortune, I have given testimony of my integrity to my God, my king, and my country. My Lords, something more I had to say, but my voice and my spirits fail me. Only in all submission I crave that I may be a pharos to keep you from shipwreck. Do not put rocks in your way, which no prudence, no circumspection, can eschew. Whatever your judgment may be, shall be righteous in my eyes. 'In te Domine, (looking towards heaven) confido: non confundar in æternum \*.'

When the bill of attainder had passed the lower house, the king encouraged Strafford with his assurance that his life should be preserved; and, doubtless, it was the king's majesty's intention that it should. Many projects were planned for that purpose, all of which were frustrated by the treachery of some of the agents, or the ambition of others; so that Charles had recourse to a measure which, had he possessed firmness sufficient to have persevered in, would have spared the stigma which his inconsistent conduct has attached to his name. He assured the Lords that the contents of the document were false, and that with this knowledge it were impossible for him to give his assent to the bill; and he required of them to suggest some plan by which to satisfy public justice, without offering violence to his conscience.

The Commons, considering this a violation of their privileges, inflamed the mind of the people with exaggerated accounts of their danger from secret plots, and thus excited their feelings to a high state of terror and resentment. The effect of this manœuvre was a protest, signed by both houses, and with which a deputation waited on the king, to obtain his assent to the sentence of treason passed upon Strafford. He promised to give it on the following Monday.

In the interim Strafford wrote an affecting letter to the king, which he concluded with these words: "My country, sir, shall more acquit you herein to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done."

God's grace, I forgive all the world, so, sir, to you I  
 life of this world with all the cheerfulness imagi-  
 just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours;  
 g that in your goodness you would vouchsafe to  
 gracious regard upon my poor son and his three  
 or more, and no otherwise than as their unfortu-  
 nay appear hereafter more or less guilty of this

ough the earl had in these magnanimous words  
 sacrifice of his life as the means of reconciliation  
 king and his subjects, when he found his request  
 ith, it is said he started from his chair in sur-  
 exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in  
 men, for in them there is no salvation."

effort on the part of the king to save his friend,  
 sent a letter to the Lords by the hands of his son,  
 of Wales. In that he asked, for *his sake*, that the  
 would agree in commuting the punishment of death  
 imprisonment for life. Nothing less than death  
 his enemies, and Strafford suffered his sentence  
 ed composure on the 11th of May, 1641, in the  
 a hundred thousand persons. The Commons  
 ar intention to proceed in other impeachments;  
 that of archbishop Laud, who, after the death of  
 1, had stood highest in the king's favour. He  
 l of an attempt to overturn the laws of England  
 ing an arbitrary and despotic government. He  
 object of dislike to the Puritans for his strictness  
 g obedience to the religious canons; and was  
 h having been detrimental to the commerce of  
 y causing certain tradesmen to leave Norwich in  
 of his rigorous order of uniformity, and settle  
 where they taught the natives our mode of ma-  
 wool. These things had rendered him unpopu-  
 lous to the people: for the present, however,  
 d unnoticed in prison. The queen, too, became  
 knew herself to have been described as the head

been requested by both houses to remain ; upon which occasion she expressed, in a speech delivered in the English language, her willingness to make any sacrifice that was required by the nation.

Soon after the execution of Strafford, the Lords, jealous of the authority exercised by the Commons, rejected two bills : one for excluding bishops from the House of Commons, the other professing " to provide security for true religion."

The existence of a misunderstanding between the two houses revived hopes in the king that he might regain his ascendancy, and he endeavoured to tamper with the royalists who yet remained in Yorkshire, in order to prevail upon them to march towards London ; but the patriots defeated his project : the treaty with the covenanters was confirmed, and the dissolution of the English and Scottish parliaments made a stipulation in that agreement.

At the period which had been fixed for the king to visit the Scottish parliament, his majesty commenced his journey, though much solicited by his English subjects to remain in England. At Newcastle the monarch accepted an invitation to dine with the Duke of Lesley, and after his arrival in Scotland, he made several public appearances, and attended the long service of the kirk.



was ready to betray the royal confidence, in himself the friendship of the covenanters. He hesitated to ; but Montrose informed the king he found who, if they were supported by the sovereign, would prove the charge of treason against Argyle. This intrigue was detected ; and his associates had been committed as traitors" before the king reached Scotland. When that his majesty was there, the people of the north, who possessed equally just claims with the south to defend their rights and their religion, who had suffered continued oppression from the government in the loss of their property, and had been parcelled to the English settlers, called for arms. Roger Moore of Ballynagh in Kildare, answered to take up arms. The gentlemen of the north were meant the old English planters in the north, the Catholics, tried to induce the parliament in the same mode of inquiry there as had been used in the south ; and, with that view, employed a deputation upon Charles, under the conduct of Lord Argyll. He flattered them by his words and behaviour, to make his secret orders frustrated the outward show of the insincerity of the sovereign, and the views of his own agents, the whole kingdom of Scotland for a few months, in a state of open rebellion. The parliament had continued several weeks in this contesting was summoned to inquire into the matter. The question was answered that, in the north, the natives were subject to cruel treatment, excluded from all offices of trust ; while low and mean were raised to honours because they were Englishmen : they also mentioned many other grievances, on which accounts they declared themselves resolved never to lay down their arms until their wrongs were redressed ; and observed that in such a situation it was not to be deemed more blamable than the

Scots, whose petition had been received, and approved by the king and the parliament.

Still the war in Ireland continued; and the cruelties exercised equally by the royalists and the insurgents on each other were too monstrous to be detailed. The insurgents were declared traitors; but the English parliament, aware they must want the army at home, were in no haste to send men to Ireland. They availed themselves of its distress to replenish their own treasury, by raising a fund on the security of the land said to be forfeited by the insurgents.

At this crisis the king returned to England, where he had only just time to see the general joy of the nation, when a remonstrance was presented from the country (whig) party, in which seventy Catholic gentlemen were denounced as dangerous to the state. The queen's confessor was sent to the Tower, and both houses passed a resolution, declaring they would never consent to the toleration of the Catholic religion in Ireland, or in any part of his majesty's dominions. The king resolved to detain the army in support of his crown; and his enemies were equally resolved to possess the command of it. The two houses had appointed a council of war while the king was on his way from Scotland, and had commissioned the earl of Leicester to raise men for the service of Ireland. [A detail of the dissensions which arose between the king and the parliament, and the conduct of the friends of each, and the subsequent conduct of the king towards certain members he had impeached, and the unparalleled difficulties of the situation, are to be found in Lingard's History, Vol. x. p. 166.] It has ever been regretted by the king's friends, that, at critical a moment, he should have gone in person to the Commons in quest of the impeached members; as the act itself irregular, greatly tended to degrade the unfortunate monarch. He was then in a state of war with his subjects and soon after found it needful to fly with his family first to Hampton Court; where he received intelligence of proceedings so privately, that he copied all the papers, sent him *faithful Hyde*, with his own hand, and burnt the originals. His assent to the two bills, for pressing soldiers,

ops of their seats and temporal employments, and pusillanimous measure. However, the flight to York rendered his situation less painful : he received from him loyal addresses, but at this time his friends in the parliament were both raising armies to oppose him. Some endeavours of pacification were commenced by the moderate of both parties, but without success, and commenced by the refusal of Colonel Goring to deliver the order of the parliament without the permission of the king. The latter commanded the royal standard to be carried to Nottingham; on it was a hand pointing to a scroll with the motto : " Give to Cæsar his due." Thus, the country was led step by step into a civil war. The reign of the Tudors, doubtedly, was not without calamities, but they were rightfully possessed of all those arbitrary powers claimed and exercised by their predecessors. In the last fifty years the minds of men had undergone a great and useful revolution. It had become fashionable to question the principles of government, and to oppose the rights of the sovereign to the pretensions of the people. We have seen Elizabeth, with all the awe inspired by the firmness of her character, had been unable, towards the close of her reign, to suppress the expression of liberal sentiments. Under the influence of James they were diffused with rapidity; the calamities of Charles, arising from his wars and his want of moderation, had taken them altogether from his restraint. Good sense had taught him to go along with the general feeling of the people : but princes in all ages have been slow to learn an important lesson, that the influence of authority must give way to the influence of opinion." " It has been observed by the same historian, " who were the authors of the civil war?" To which he replies, " If additional force was necessary for the preservation of the national constitution, it will belong to Charles ; if not, the fault must be ascribed to the advisers." In vain had Charles allowed himself to be misled that he should be better able to negotiate

\* Vol. x. page 188.

when placed at the head of the army; he offered which the parliament refused, and from one end of the kingdom to the other the war raged with unsubdued violence. The higher classes rallied round the king, whilst the yeomanry, and the merchants and tradesmen, rendered services to the parliament. The first of these parties were called cavaliers, and the latter round-heads, from their custom of cropping the hair short. The royalists were commanded by the earl of Lindsay: the parliamentary forces were commanded by the earl of Essex.

In the protestation of Charles, which he made on the march, between Stafford and Willington, he had no other design or wish, than to maintain the faith, to govern according to law, and to observe the statutes enacted by parliament. His enemies put in circulation the rumour that the king aimed to alter the national religion in favour of the Papists, and that he purposed to divide the cavaliers with the plunder of London: to frustrate this design he resolved to enter into a solemn covenant with God, and to defend his truth at the hazard of their lives, to congregate together the well affected, and to ask assistance from the Scottish brethren, whose liberties and religion were in danger."

The first action at Edge-hill was advantageous to the royalists, though the united numbers of the slain amounted to six thousand. Another battle took place at Brentford, where the advantage was still on the side of the royalists. On approaching near the metropolis the two armies met at Chiswick, and the king's army was defeated.

ved a mere feint, the leader of each being desirous to annihilate the authority of the other : and the intrigues of the agents appointed to conduct the negotiations, rendered the efforts of the moderates totally abortive. To such a height did the violence of feeling extend, that Batten, the parliamentary general, enraged that Henrietta, the consort of Charles, should evade his vigilance when she landed at Burlington on her return from Holland, where she had been to obtain succours for the king, discharged a hundred shots at the houses on the quay, because he had learned that she was in one of them.

But to peruse in detail, at the present day, all the barbarous transactions of that disastrous period, would be like painful, tedious, and un instructive. The pacific mind of the poet, Edmund Waller, induced him to form a plan for a third party of moderate men, who should stand between the two extremes, and re-unite the king with his parliament. This being discovered, it was called "a horrid plot to seize the city, force the parliament, and join with the royal army;" and was made a pretext by the patriots for the following vow and covenant to be taken by every man in his parish church—"never to consent to the laying down of arms, so long as the Papists, in open war against the parliament, should be protected from the justice thereof; but according to their power and vocation to assist the forces raised by the parliament against the forces raised by the king.\*"

Mean time jealousy and intrigue, the certain enemies of ambitious men, had their usual success; sometimes raising the scale of royalty, at others, and that more frequent, lowering it to give a momentary elevation to some individual who mistook the voice of interested adulation for that of popularity. One of these sudden changes robbed the patriots of their favourite leader, Hampden, at whose death the royalists rejoiced as though they had gained a victory.

During the late period, the Scottish covenanters and the English reformers had the same principle in view; but when the time came for their acting in unison, they disagreed as to

\* LINGARD, vol. x. p. 212.

religious forms ; until a declaration was made that the kirk was to retain its existing purity," and that the land be "reformed according to the word of God." This was apparently satisfactory to both parties. The king raised a powerful army, the command of which was given to Lesley, who, on being created earl Leven, had more to bear arms against the king ; but was permitted him to deviate from the promised collection that when he pledged his word he would not take all cases in which civil liberty, or the cause of the people, be at stake.

In Ireland a federative government was formed, in which they professed loyalty to the king, but claimed the right to defend their liberty and religion, and offered their allegiance to their sovereign, while at the same time they petitioned for the redress of their grievances. The king consented that a committee should be formed with the insurgents, and the committee contributed a considerable sum towards the support of the royal army. In less than six months afterwards a peace was made by the king to obtain peace, and the parliament decided for war. Every means was used to keep one day's fast in each week, and collections were collected every Tuesday the money for the meal was spared. The king had recourse to his plate and jewels, and to loans from his adherents ; in return for the promised future remuneration, and numbers who had great lengths to serve his majesty ; but all these were unequal to the resources of the parliament. The king's army of Scotch and Irish assisted by the reputation of the latter for courage, defeated the king's adversaries. Several able generals were killed, and among them the celebrated James Montrose. Fairfax also made great exertions.

Yorkists, and the Scots were animated with a belief that the war was solely for the cause of religion. The parliament declared its intention to stake the fate of events on one great and decisive battle, and for this end increased their two great moments, under their generals Essex and Waller. But here, in most national causes, the diversity of interests in the commanders prevented union in their conduct. In number royalists were much inferior to their opponents, which rendered it important to the king that he should rather evade pursuers than give them battle. He succeeded in this manoeuvre, and had gathered courage from the event, when he learned that the city of York was besieged. His majesty immediately sent his commands to prince Rupert, his nephew, a courageous commander (who had been victorious in attacking the parliamentary army) to hasten to its relief. He obeyed the mandate, and a few days after fought the great battle of Marston Moor, the result of which was disastrous to the royal party; the city of York was compelled to capitulate for the safety of its inhabitants, and the campaign ended by an order for the combined army to separate. This order, issued by the parliamentary committee, Essex did not think proper to obey; he continued to pursue and harass the royalists, until his situation compelled him to capitulate, and to surrender his arms, ammunitions, and artillery, a circumstance so reviving to the hopes of Charles, that he invited his subjects to accompany him to London. His adversaries again rallied, and many engagements followed; but in the end the parliamentary cause received the greatest check from the ambition of its own agents. The command of the seven associated provinces had been forced upon the earl of Manchester, who accepted the office with reluctance, as he was unaccustomed to military operations, and he intrusted their direction to his council. His lieutenant-general was Cromwell, the representative in the Commons' house for Cambridge; he was a relative, and had been a faithful follower, of Hampden, and was a man of singular zeal, energy, and courage, whom some historians have accused of affecting a

superior piety, to cover his ambition. But a faithful perusal of his life will lead the reader to agree with Lingard, he "owed his rise more to his real piety and the energy of his mind, than to any projects of personal interest; and that ambition was not a primary object of his conduct, but that it grew out of unprecedented success." In the outward form of sanctity, Cromwell coincided with his commander Manchester, but in practice and belief they widely differed. Manchester aimed to establish one system of worship exclusively; Cromwell maintained the common right of men to worship God according to their own consciences. His manners obtained him the entire control of the soldiers under his command; this alarmed the commissioners for Scotland, and they appointed Crawford, who was a rigid presbyterian, to the post of major-general, which circumstance created a rivalry between these officers, and they accused each other and recriminated until their quarrel became matter of inquiry in the House. Cromwell was accused of having turned his back in the battle of Marston Moor; and he charged Manchester with disaffection towards his party. At this early period suspicion had crept into the minds of Essex and the other generals, that Cromwell had designs to establish a new government on his own principles. A list of charges was prepared against him, which the Commons received, but allowed to remain unnoticed. A reform of the army was modelled, and a decree passed, called the "self-denying ordinance," which excluded the members of the two houses from all civil and military offices. Sir Thomas Fairfax was placed at the head of the army, with major-general Skippon, as second in command. So constantly had the people been told that the war originated in the endeavour to establish popery on the ruins of Protestantism, that denials and protestations of the contrary were deemed as mere artifices to mislead the unwary. The Catholics were everywhere persecuted, and the seizure of their property was deemed a fair and just act: they being the cause of the war, they ought, it was said, to support it; and to this end two-thirds of the



estate, real and personal, of every papist was sold for the benefit of the nation\*.

The next step was the abolition of episcopacy, and a reformation of the clergy. Cambridge being under the control of parliament, its university underwent a purification, and papists were expelled from it; a synod of divines was then summoned to meet at Westminster to decide the question of liberty of conscience, and these were opposed by the independents, who maintained that religious toleration was the birthright of every man being. Among the advocates of the latter was Cromwell, and several others who possessed superiority of mind and genius; but the presbyterians outweighed them in number and influence. During the sitting of the assembly, Cromwell watched the other with unceasing caution; but on the subject of church government, opinions became so ungovernable that Cromwell obtained an order that it should be referred to a committee. It was several months under discussion, but then it ended by discontinuing the use of the liturgy, and adopting a "directory," which regulated the order of the service, the administration of the sacraments, the ceremony of baptism, the visitation of the sick, and the burial of the

years had elapsed since the commitment of archbishop Laud, when a respite from the miseries of a civil war was granted his enemies time to think of him, and to pursue him with all of attainder: the trial of the venerable old man was conducted without the slightest regard to justice. He was condemned and suffered.

The question of peace or war became the subject of much discussion, but in a cause where opinions were as diversified as the different interests of the parties concerned, there was great difficulty in coming to any conclusion. At length com-

merce thus sequestered afforded a useful means of supply on any emergency, when Colonel Harvey insisted on receiving the arrears due, previous to the departure of the regiment. The sum of 3000*l.* was immediately raised by the sale of wood on the estate of Lord Petre, in the county of Essex; and in the time of a scarcity of timber for the navy, the two houses authorized the felling of two thousand five hundred trees on the estates of delinquents in Kent and Essex. Again, when 15,000*l.* was required to put the army of Fairfax in motion, it was raised by fines paid by delinquents recovering back their estates.—LINGARD, vol. x. note C.

missioners were appointed to treat on the terms the king was ready to make great sacrifices to procure; the parliament was unreasonable in its demands, and to make any concessions; so nothing final could be made, and Charles had recourse to his Irish subjects, who in claiming the same indulgence in religious matters had been conceded to the people of Scotland. He feared his Protestant subjects; however, he promised his deputies, on the word of a king, that when they asked him to make them happy, he would not disappoint their expectations.

In Scotland, the ambition of Montrose could make some efforts in the royal cause. His victor's temporary lustre over the decline of royalty, but it did no permanent good.

In England the conduct of the royal army gave the king great and numerous advantages. It was nominally under the command of the Prince of Wales, but it was really under Prince Rupert; a man possessing more courage than judgment and prudence to organize his troops; the officers indulged in every kind of debauchery, and military orders were neglected. Such excesses provoked a party who formed under the denomination of clubmen. The number of these neutrals increased daily: they petitioned the parliament for peace, and grew in a short time formidable to the independents, who were the leaders on the royal side, that an order was issued for their disarmament by military force.

ing; a circumstance which some have attributed to his cunning, but which, in fact, was owing to a coincidence of events over which he had no probable influence.

The battle of Naseby proved most disastrous to the royalists. It was the first in which the valour of Cromwell was highly distinguished, and it was that in which the king's cabinet containing a number of private letters formed part of the treasure taken from the vanquished royalists. From these letters the parliament made a selection, which they afterwards published as Evelyn's memoirs.

To every person except the king, the royal cause seemed to be sunk, without the chance of a revival; still Charles clung to the slightest shadow of hope. He retreated from Leicester to Hereford, and thence to Rayland Castle, the seat of the marquis of Worcester, and then to Cardiff, for the purpose of holding communication with prince Rupert at Bristol; and though he lost the three fortresses, Carlisle, Pontefract, and Scarborough, the monarch resisted the advice of every one who spoke of peace. To avoid falling into the hands of his enemies, the king fled from one spot to another, until he arrived at Oxford, where he intended to spend the winter, flattering himself that, in the following spring, the victorious Montrose in Scotland, the peaceable state of Ireland, and the interest of his foreign allies, would all operate in his favour. Before winter began, the surrender of Bristol blighted those hopes; the king in dismay revoked the commission he had given to prince Rupert, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. Disasters in Scotland followed, and the pacification of Ireland seemed less probable than ever; for the ancient Irish made the legal establishment of the Catholic religion an indispensable condition. Charles finding that Ormond the lieutenant failed to satisfy the people, had recourse to intrigue, and commissioned Herbert, son to the marquis of Worcester, and who was devotedly attached to his sovereign, to enter into a negotiation with the confederates in Ireland, to send the king an aid of ten thousand men; for which service Herbert should secure to them certain concessions on the point of religion. But these concessions were to be kept secret, with a reserve

tion that Charles should be allowed to deny the proceeding should any disclosure occur, before he found himself able to contend with the malice of his enemies. Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, proceeded to execute his commission full, but secret authority, to act for the king; and with a promise from the monarch to ratify the engagements made by his envoy, even should they be contrary to law\*. While this scheme was executing in Ireland, the king was forming negotiations in Scotland. He wrote to the parliament commissioners to act there; but it happening that his message was presented on the very day that a discovery had been opened to both houses of the treaty going forward between Glamorgan and the Catholics of Ireland, the king remained unnoticed.

On the discovery being known, Charles availed himself of the promise he had obtained from the friends of Glamorgan. He disavowed all the proceedings and engagements made by the earl to the Irish Catholics, and sent orders to the privy council in Dublin to proceed legally against Glamorgan.

A copy of the second warrant†, by which Charles authorized Glamorgan to act, was in Dublin, and

\* "On the 1st of April, 1644, the king gave to him, by the name of Edward alias Plantagenet, lord Herbert, baron Beaufort, &c., a commission under the great seal appointing him commander-in-chief of three armies, of Englishmen, Irish, and foreigners, authorizing him to raise monies on the securities of the royal warrants, woods, &c., furnishing him with patents of nobility from the title of baronet, to be filled up with names at his discretion, promising to give his daughter Elizabeth to his son Plantagenet in marriage, with a dower of three hundred pounds, a sum which did not much exceed what Herbert and his father spent in the king's service, and in addition, to Herbert himself the title of Somerset, with the George and blue riband."—LINGARD, VOL. X. note B.

† Copy of the second warrant.

"Charles Rex.

"Charles by the grace of God king of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland of the Fayth, &c. To our Right trusty and Right well beloved Cossin Edward earl of Glamorgan greetinge. Whearas wee have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fideliti Soe great is the confidence we repose in you that whatsoever you shall perform as warranted only under our signe maner signett or private marke or even by woorde of mouthe without further ceremony in the worde of a kinge and a cristian promis to make good to all intents as effectually as if your authoriti from us had binne under our great seal and with this advantage that wee shall esteeme our selfe farr the more bounden by your gallantry in not standing upon such terms to doe our service

to prevarication, and excused himself by  
furnished the earl with some credential of  
st have been with the understanding that  
o be used without the knowledge and con-  
unt.

l continued to obtain aid for his royal  
the men could be landed the royal army  
d the prince of Wales had fled to Jersey  
ed, the landing of Irishmen in England  
ncture, have led to the most sanguinary  
rdinance had passed both houses of parlia-  
arter should be given to any Irishman or  
Ireland; and that the latter should be  
ll capitulations. The Irish sailors were  
back to back and thrown into the sea.

Naseby, Fairfax wrote that "he had not  
ho were Irish and who were not, but had  
ers to be disposed of according to law."  
ce, Charles proposed a personal treaty to  
tminster, and offered great concessions on  
liament; he repeated the proposal a second  
but without receiving any answer. The  
gain some advantage over their English  
ing possession of the king's person, em-  
envoy Montrevil to offer an asylum to the  
hile this was going forward, Fairfax and  
nducting the army towards Oxford for the

d althooghe yow exceed what law can warrant or any power  
knowinge what yow may have need of, yet it being for our  
not only to give yow our pardon but to mantayne the same  
ver, and though either by accident yow loose or by any other  
ecessary to deposit any of our warrants and so want them at  
ly promise to make them good at your returne, and to supply  
shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this  
n, for of what wee have heer sett downe yow may rest con-  
or truth in man; proceed theerfor cheerfully, spedely, and  
nge this shall be yor sufficient warrant. Given at our Court  
mannall and privat signet this 12 of Januarj 1644.

"GLAMORGAN."

*Righ well beloved  
Glamorgan."*

*Glamorgan's further authoritj."*

purpose of surrounding him. Intelligence of their ~~apparent~~ <sup>secret</sup> caused the king to quit Oxford in the night, disguised as a servant of Mr. Ashburnham. The latter gentleman, with Dr. Hudson, a clergyman, accompanied the royal ~~English~~ <sup>English</sup> to meet the Scottish army. At Southwell the king ~~was introduced~~ <sup>was introduced</sup> to the earl of Leven and the officers ~~of the army~~ <sup>of the army</sup>. Having joined the Scottish army, his majesty ~~resumed~~ <sup>resumed</sup> his correspondence with the parliament, and desired ~~to receive~~ <sup>to receive</sup> their proposals. While they were debating on the ~~means~~ <sup>means</sup> the Scottish leaders endeavoured to induce his majesty ~~to take~~ <sup>to take</sup> the covenant, and concur in the establishment of the ~~principles of~~ <sup>principles of</sup> presbyterianism were anti-monarchical; its ministers ~~only~~ <sup>only</sup> advocated the lawfulness of rebellion; and if they were ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> the sole dispensers of public instruction, he and his ~~advisors~~ <sup>advisors</sup> might be kings in name, but they would be ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> effect. He had found episcopacy in the church at his ~~accession~~ <sup>accession</sup>, he had sworn to maintain it in all its rights, ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> was bound to leave it in existence at his death. Once ~~indeed~~ <sup>indeed</sup>, to please the two houses, he had betrayed his ~~conscience~~ <sup>conscience</sup> by assenting to the death of Strafford: the ~~punishment~~ <sup>punishment</sup> of that transgression still lay heavy on his head; ~~but~~ <sup>but</sup> should he, to please them again, betray it once more, ~~he~~ <sup>he</sup> would prove himself a most incorrigible sinner, and ~~deserve~~ <sup>deserve</sup> the curse both of God and man.\*

When Charles received the propositions of parliament, he again mentioned a personal conference, to "weigh reasons and come to a right understanding." This answer was termed evasive by the independents, who avowed their wish to dethrone him, and set up his second son, the duke of York, or to establish a republican government; but an unexpected impediment to peace now offered in the question—to whom belonged the right to dispose of the king, he being sovereign of Scotland as well as of England? The English maintained that the Scots were mere auxiliaries, and that it was their duty to execute the orders of those whose bread they ate, and whose money they received. Whilst this topic was discussed

y violence, the two houses fixed on Holmby, ton, for the future residence of the king; and missioners who conducted him thither, under , and who treated him with outward marks of

g had not ceased to expect succour from Ire-  
 n by the following letter, written in his dis-  
 organ. “ If you can raise a large sum of  
 ing my kingdoms for that purpose, I am con-  
 I do it; and if I recover them, I will fully  
 ey. And tell the nuncio, that if once I can  
 and your hands, which ought to be extremely  
 on both, as well for the sake of England as  
 ll the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it.  
 ot say this from my heart, or if in any future  
 in this, may God never restore me to my  
 is world, nor give me eternal happiness in  
 ich I hope this tribulation will conduct me at  
 ave satisfied my obligations to my friends,  
 om am I so much obliged as to yourself,  
 owards me exceed all expressions that can be

“ Your constant friend,

“ CHARLES R. \*”

on ended in the disappointment of the king,  
 er of Dublin to the parliament.

\* LINGARD, vol. x. p. 353.

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## CHAPTER X.

## CHARLES I. (CONCLUDED.)

DURING twelve months prior to the event with which the last chapter was concluded, the religious disputations between the independents and the presbyterians filled the kingdom with discontent. Both parties remained inflexible: the former declared their willingness to suffer the penalties of the law, to become voluntary exiles to some other clime, rather than sacrifice the combination of civil with religious freedom; the latter would admit of no innovation in the powers which Christ, according to their creed, had granted to the prelates. Thus the contending parties seemed involved in endless disputes, when an unexpected event called their attention from religious to political movements.

After the king's arrival at Holmby he was careful to seclude himself, and no one had access to the royal person without the sanction of the parliament; all those who came to be touched for treason were sent back, and three months were passed by the king without any variation, except his occasional rides, and sometimes a game at bowls; the rest of the time his days were passed in the retirement of his closet.

Weary of the silence observed towards him, the king wrote a letter to the parliament, expressed his readiness to comply with their requests in confirming the presbyterian government for three years, provided that liberty of worship should be granted to himself and his household, and that, at the end of that term, religion should be regulated by himself and the two houses. He also expressed his willing concession in all other points which they had deemed of importance. The Lords received the letter with satisfaction; the Commons neglected to notice it. In the interim, Cromwell was moving onward towards the goal that was to crown his success; he gained confidence, and obtained an entire control over his army under Fairfax—a man daring and courageous in the field, but easy and conceding in his private conduct. The



It enabled him to carry his designs into execution. The commander, who thought he was acting in conformity with his own feelings, when he was really following the lead of his lieutenant.

With the privates, Cromwell compassionated their privations. With the zeal of a religionist, who affected to feel their sufferings as his own. Among his fellow officers, he regretted that the most meritorious patriot was not secure. This he attributed to the use the presbyterian leaders had long viewed the army of Fairfax with particular jealousy. Its expenses were becoming burdensome, and now that the royalists were defeated and that their services were not so necessary, preparations were made to disband it, to select from it a number for the defence of Ireland, and to require of those who remained that they should conform to the presbyterian church government.

The independents pursued their own course; they secretly disobeyed his orders, and the cantonments were on their march towards the metropolis, before the parliament was aware that they had left the neighbourhood of Nottingham. A remonstrance was presented, in which the army required the payment of arrears due, and exemption from foreign service, and a long list of grievances, which drew from the parliament threats of punishment that only served to increase the discontent. "Should men," they asked, "who had bled for their country be forbidden to state their grievances?" They enlisted volunteers, and thus increased their numbers many thousands; they divided themselves into regiments and bodies: the officers formed one, and two privates were selected from each troop as representatives, who formed a council under the name of adjutators, or helpers; and these acted from their joint deliberations. The result was that the army became the most powerful party. Having declined taking the king under its own protection, Cromwell, when he was appointed to the general's life-guard, was sent to convey the king to the camp, upon which the following passed at Holmby:—

*King*—Mr. Joyce, I desire to ask you, what authority you have to take charge of my person, and convey me away?

*Joyce*—I am sent by authority of the army, to prevent the design of their enemies, who seek to involve the kingdom a second time in blood.

*King*—That is no lawful authority. I know of none in England but my own, and after mine, that of the parliament. Have you any written commission from Sir Thomas Fairfax?

*Joyce*—I have the authority of the army, and the general is included in the army.

*King*—That is no answer. The general is the head of the army. Have you any written commission?

*Joyce*—I beseech your majesty to ask me no more questions. There is my commission, pointing to the troopers behind him.

*King, (with a smile)*—I never before read such a commission: but it is written in characters fair and legible enough. I will give you a company of as handsome proper gentlemen as I have seen a long while. But to remove me hence you must use absolute force, unless you give me satisfaction as to these reasonable and just demands which I make: that I may be used with honour and respect, and that I may not be forced in any thing against my conscience or honour, though I hope that my resolution is fixed so that no force can cause me to do a base thing. You are masters of my body, my soul is above your reach.

The king, attended by his servants, proceeded to the market. The army having so far succeeded in their attempt, by the authority, the parliament treated with its commanders as the commissioners of a party possessing equal power with themselves, and henceforward they acted in concert. The king was treated with the highest respect; his children and friends found easy access to his person, and it is probable that, if he had conceded to the proposal submitted for his approbation and intended to be laid before the parliament, which the army presented, the monarchical government would have been continued. But his suspicion regarding the framers of the plan, or his reliance on the presbyterian party, who still adhered to

ner agreement of bringing the king to Westminster, him to reject the offer, which had for its principal to place the liturgy and the covenant on an equal

army being much disappointed at the king's refusal, advised, as a conciliatory measure, that his majesty express, in writing, his pleasure at their attention, from them, that he could not yield consent to all the terms: but Charles was so long before he sent the letter, lost the desired effect. After the army had entered London, and the king's residence was fixed at Hampton Court, he professed his readiness to treat with the commanders of the army, and observed, that their plan was to form the basis of a lasting peace.

Fortunately, while Charles seemed thus satisfied with the conduct of the army, he was practising his usual habit of du-

He was forming treaties with the commissioners of Scotland and Ireland; and while his opinion fluctuated with the influence of party, a new faction rose, which aimed to subvert the sovereignty in the people. The movers of this party called themselves levellers; and as their principles were dissolute, the venturesome, and the discontented, their numbers soon increased to a formidable height, under their chief supporters, colonels Pride and Rainsborough. The

king now thrown into great confusion, the king thought it unsafe so near London; and taking advantage of a fine evening in November, he descended the back stairs to the garden, attended by Legge, groom of the chamber,

on meeting Berkeley and Ashburnham, he accompanied them to the countess of Southampton at Tichfield House. Thence his friends solicited the protection of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, a man in the interest of Cromwell. By this officer, who acted with caution, the king was advised, somewhat reluctantly, to Carisbrook Castle. The

They were much irritated at his flight, and aimed their attacks against Cromwell, who, considering his life in danger, by an act of intrepidity which restored subordination to the army, and taught him a lesson that he ever

after followed, to keep on good terms with the parliament and the army.

In the Isle of Wight the king continued to plot and intrigue; and Hammond, who treated his majesty with respect and indulgence, still resolved to follow the orders he received from head-quarters. The answers which the king received through his secret agents were discouraging, and awakened the most frightful apprehensions, so that he applied to the queen for a ship of war in which to escape from the island. But the parliament at this time proposed four bills, to which the royal assent was to be considered as the condition on which they would consent to a personal treaty with his majesty; which bills, Dr. Lingard observes in vol. x. note 34, were not as Clarendon states in his History, vol. iii. page 88, but were as follows:—

“The first, after vesting the command of the army in the parliament for twenty years, enacted that after that period whenever the Lords and Commons should declare the safety of the kingdom to be concerned, all bills passed by them respecting the forces by sea or land should be deemed acts of parliament, even though the king for the time being should refuse his assent thereto; the second, declared all oaths, proclamations, and proceedings against the parliament during the war void and of no effect; the third annulled all titles of honour granted since the 20th of May, 1642, and deprived all peers to be created hereafter, of the right of sitting in parliament without the consent of the two houses; and the fourth gave to the houses the power of adjourning from place to place at their discretion.”

The Scottish commissioners having seen a copy of the bills, hastened to Carisbrook, where, by ceding something of their former demands, the king was induced to sign a treaty, but this was done privately. In his answers to the parliament, Charles refused to give his assent to any bill, before the whole treaty was concluded. Aware of the dissatisfaction this would cause to the two houses, his majesty prepared to quit Carisbrook that same evening; but Hammond, as if he had been acquainted with the king's intention

bled the guards on the departure of the commissioners, confined the king to his chamber. From that moment royal captive was never left alone: of the four warders set about his person, two attended him by rotation; and even in his bed-room, a guard remained at each door of the apartment. Yet, with all this caution, such was the zealous attachment of his friends, that he was supplied with the means of conveying his letters to Edinburgh, to his queen in Paris, to his son, the duke of York, at St. James's, and caused a letter, in compliance with the command of his father, to direct his escape to Holland, which he effected in the disguise of a female.

In a few months the people grew more and more dissatisfied; and an opinion very generally prevailed, that a personal treaty with Charles ought to have been granted. The sentiments of the levellers operated in another direction; those who declared that the government of kings was odious in the sight of God, and were for founding a commonwealth. Cromwell invited such as favoured this doctrine to meet the members of the parliament and of the army at his house, and to discuss the subject; but neither he, nor his adherents, were explicit in speaking on that occasion: however, none of them allowed their opponents to think they were in doubt as to what measures might be best.

Still the royalists looked to Scotland for assistance; but an army under the duke of Hamilton did not arrive so soon as expected; and colonel Poyer, governor of the castle of Pembroke, was the first to unfurl the royal standard. Small divisions collected in different parts of the kingdom, who rallied to the call for "God and the king." Petitions daily poured in from all parts, praying that the army might be disbanded, and that the king might be brought back to the capital; but opinions varied on the latter point, and the royalists began to despair of succour, when they heard that the Scottish army had crossed the borders: this, however, only revived a temporary hope. Hamilton had led his men into Lancashire in numbers, where they might have proved victorious; but it was the duke's misfortune to feel diffident of his own powers, and,

with a great share of personal courage. He trusted to the guidance of others, who allowed their own interests and their private jealousies and quarrels to supersede every consideration regarding the service in which they had engaged. The complete discomfiture of the Scottish army was the result of this misconduct, and Cromwell's cause proved triumphant.

The prince of Wales was at this time in the Downs with a fleet from the Hague, waiting a favourable opportunity to land, when the loss of the Scottish army destroyed his hope, and he was compelled to return without effecting the landing of his royal parent; that being the principal object of the expedition.

When affairs were in this state, and England, Ireland, and Scotland were in anarchy, and disorder from the controlling influence of different factions, Charles removed from Okebrook to the town of Newport, where, surrounded by his servants and a few friends, he enjoyed the outward appearance of liberty; but in the negotiation then pending between himself and the commissioners acting for the royal powers, he was soon sensible that he was still a captive, and that it was expected he should submit, not treat. Before anything conclusive was done, a plan for a new constitution was presented from the independents, as the petition of "thousands of well-affected persons in and near London." "The objects here proposed were, that the supremacy of the people should be established against the negative voice of the king and of the Lords; that, to prevent civil wars, the office of the king and the privileges of the peers should be clearly defined; that a new parliament, to be elected of course, and without writs, should assemble every year, but never for a longer time than forty or fifty days; that religious belief and worship should be free from restraint or compulsion; that the proceedings in law should be shortened, and the charges moderated; that tithes for the support of the clergy, and perpetual imprisonment for debt, should be abolished; and that it should lay to heart the blood spilt and the blood shed by commission from the king, and by

the justice of God could be satisfied, or his  
 sed by an act of oblivion \* !”

hich, from its great influence over the mind of  
 often made the instrument of vice, was here  
 d as a powerful auxiliary. The fanatics repeated  
 from the book of Numbers, which says that  
 h the land, and the land cannot be cleansed of  
 is shed therein, but by the blood of him that  
 he independents and levellers turned to their  
 n the form of a remonstrance, in which they  
 the capital and grand author of all the troubles  
 h the kingdom had endured should be speedily  
 stice for the treason, blood, and mischief, of  
 been guilty † !”

stitution formed the subject of debate in the House  
 which, as the representative body, was acknow-  
 the “ sovereignty of the people,” Charles,  
 s life was threatened, owned himself willing to  
 concessions ; but his counsellors, the duke of  
 e earl of Lindsay, and colonel Coke, offered  
 e in effecting his escape. Charles, however,  
 persuasion, because he had given his parole to  
 days after the treaty, and he would not forfeit  
 he next evening he was lodged in Hurst Castle,  
 as connected with the coast of Hampshire by a  
 miles in length. During these transactions  
 in Scotland, from whence he returned at this  
 as conducted to Whitehall to receive the thanks  
 ons for his services. The army, being chiefly  
 independents and levellers, had gained the su-  
 nder, and may be said to have been the executive

In the Commons Cromwell acted the hypocrite :  
 he men traitors who proposed to depose the king  
 t his posterity ; in the next sentence he professed  
 tantly compelled to harsh measures in obedience  
 of God, who had imposed the unwilling task

General Fairfax, who had hitherto suffered himself to be led by the advice of Cromwell, suddenly adopted firmness of character, and refused his concurrence to the trial of the king. Meanwhile his majesty had been removed, after a residence only three weeks in Hurst Castle, to the palace at Windsor, where the usual ceremonies attendant on royalty were omitted, which so operated on the feelings of the king, that he desired to take his meals in private. The sanguine temperament of Charles deluded him into a belief that the interference of foreign powers and the loyal exertions of his Scottish subjects would interpose to prevent so great a crime as the shedding the blood of the sovereign.

The princes of Europe viewed the storm with cold indifference. The king of Spain maintained a friendly intercourse with the parliament, and his cousin-german, Frederic III. of Denmark, beheld the fate of Charles with apathy; the king of France had been made an exile from Paris by civil dissensions, and the king's daughter, Henrietta, depended for subsistence on the bounty of cardinal de Retz.

The trifling exertion made by the Scots was soon overbalanced by the arguments of Cromwell, who found it an easy matter to convince the covenanters that where it became a duty to punish malignants, generally, it was more imperative to punish him who was the chief of the malignants. The removal of his majesty to Whitehall annihilated every hope. On the 20th of January, 1649, Charles was received at the door of Westminster-hall, by the sergeant-at-arms, and conducted within the bar to take his trial. "His step was firm, his countenance erect and unmoved. He did not uncover, but first seated himself, then arose, and surveyed the court with an air of superiority, which abashed and irritated his enemies. While the clerk read the charge, he appeared to listen with indifference: but a smile of contempt was seen to quiver on his lips at the passage which described him as 'tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth of England.' On being told that the court sat by the authority of the House of Commons, 'But where,' he asked, 'were the Lords? Were the Commons to



a legislature? Were they free? Were they a court of law? Could they confer on others a jurisdiction which they did not possess themselves? He would never acknowledge a usurped authority. It was a duty imposed upon the Almighty to disown every lawless power, that in either the rights of the crown, or the liberties of the people.

Such was the substance of his discourse delivered on different days, and amidst innumerable interruptions by the president, who would not suffer the jurisdiction of the court to be questioned, and at last ordered the 'default and contempt of the prisoner' to be recorded.\*

On the two more days, which were spent by the court in deliberations, the king proposed to hold a conference with a joint committee of the lords and commons. The request was refused in harsh language by Bradshaw, the president, who informed the king that nothing now remained for the judges to pronounce sentence: they had learned, from holy writ, that "to acquit the guilty was of as bad domination as to condemn the innocent." The charge was then read, and the judgment followed, "that the court was satisfied in conscience that he, the said Charles Stuart, was guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused, did maintain him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy of the good people of the nation, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body."

During this extraordinary trial, Lady Fairfax, the wife of the general, interrupted the court twice with her loyal exclamation in favour of the king. It was remarked that his character had become firm and inflexible; no weakness was exhibited on that trying occasion. The few inter-days, between his trial and his execution, were spent by the king in religious preparation, assisted by Dr. Juxon, of London, who was permitted to attend his sovereign, and the request of Hugh Peters, a preacher. His majesty did not suffer his attached friends to intrude on those hours; the few hours he did spare from his pious employment, were given to his children, the princess Elizabeth and the infant duke of

\* LINGARD, vol. x. page 447.

Gloucester, his brother James having escaped to Holland. In the last of those interviews his majesty divided a favour between them, gave them his blessing, and having kissed them with strong feelings of affection he retired to his chamber. The king slept four hours in the night preceding execution. On awaking in the morning he observed Herbert, "This is my second marriage day. I would be as trim as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to blessed Jesus." And he ordered two shirts, saying, "Were I to shake through cold, my enemies would still have it to fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared."

From St. James's Palace the king proceeded to Whitehall, where he waited more than two hours, which many thought was caused by the arrival of ambassadors from the Hague, with whom was Seymour, the bearer of a letter from the Prince of Wales: one addressed to Lord Falkland which was a sheet of blank paper subscribed by the prince, to be filled up by the grandees of the army, with the conditions for the life of his father; whatever they might be, the conditions and signature were already fixed, so that they were given. The other letter was to the king who had the most convincing proof that could be experienced of his son's affection and attachment to his royal parent. Colonel Tomlinson showed Seymour to the presence of his majesty, from whom he received the last instructions to his son and successor.

No alteration took place in the fate of Charles, who, receiving the fatal summons from Hacker, that "all was ready," proceeded with the same firm step through the gallery, lined with soldiers, whose looks sympathised with the sorrowful occasion. On the scaffold the king addressed the people; but as the swords of the military prevented their approach, it was only a few persons who could distinguish his words †. "He took," he said, "the opportunity of a

\* In the third volume of "Original Letters, by Mr. Ellis," is a fac-simile of the paper, with the signature of the prince.

presence of his God, the crimes of which he had been  
 d. It was not to him, but to the houses of parliament,  
 the war and all its evils should be charged. The parlia-  
 ment first invaded the rights of the crown by claiming the  
 command of the army: it had provoked hostilities by issuing  
 commissions for the levy of forces, before he had raised a  
 man. But he had forgiven even those, whoever they  
 (for he did not desire to know their names,) who had  
 led him to his death. He did more than forgive them,  
 prayed that they might repent. But for that purpose they  
 do three things: they must render to God his due, by  
 governing the church according to the Scripture; they must  
 restore to the crown those rights which belonged to it by law;  
 they must teach the people the distinction between the  
 sign and the subject: those persons could not be govern-  
 ment who were to be governed; *they* could not rule, whose  
 duty it was to obey." And he concluded with these words,  
 "It was for the liberties of the people, that I am come

If I would have assented to an arbitrary sway, to have  
 things changed according to the power of the sword, I  
 need not to have come hither: and therefore I tell you, (and  
 say to God it be not laid to your charge,) that I am the  
 servant of the people."

Having added at the suggestion of Dr. Juxon, "I die a  
 Christian, according to the profession of the Church of Eng-  
 land, as I found it left me by my father," he said, addressing  
 himself to the prelate, "I have on my side a good cause and  
 merciful God."

Bishop.—There is but one stage more: it is turbulent and  
 troublesome, but a short one. It will carry you from earth  
 to heaven, and there you will find joy and comfort.

King.—I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown.

Bishop.—You exchange an earthly for an eternal crown—a  
 noble exchange.

Being ready, he bent his neck on the block, and after  
 a short pause, stretched out his hands as a signal. At this  
 instant the axe descended, the head rolled from the body,  
 and a deep groan burst from the multitude of the spectators.

But they had no leisure to testify their feeling; two horse dispersed them in different directions."

"Such was the end of the unfortunate Charles," continues the same historian, "an awful lesson to successors of royalty, to watch the growth of public opinion to moderate their pretensions in conformity with the able desires of their subjects. Had he lived at a more period, when the sense of wrong was quickly subdued by habit of submission, his reign would probably have been marked by fewer violations of the national liberties, and less resistance that made him a tyrant. The spirit of the people refused to yield to the encroachments of authority: each act of oppression placed him under the necessity of committing another, till he had revived and enforced all those odious prerogatives, which, though usually claimed, were but seldom exercised, by his predecessors."

Charles had by his queen Henrietta four sons and four daughters: Charles James, who died in his infancy; Charles, Prince of Wales, who succeeded his father; James, Duke of York, and Henry, Duke of Gloucester. Mary, the princess of Orange, by whom she was left a widow, Elizabeth died in confinement in Carisbrook Castle and Catharine died in their infancy; and Henrietta Maria was carried into France, where she married the duke of Orléans, brother to Louis XIV.

The body of Charles was embalmed, and given, soon after his execution, to the earl of Richmond, to be interred at Windsor. It was deposited in a vault in the church of St. George's Chapel.

In person Charles was strong and well proportioned, as well as the expression of countenance so like the portraits of the Stuart family, exactly agreeing with that of Charles the First, who is said to have had a melancholy countenance; with a set of teeth like those of a lion.

The character of this monarch filled the hearts of the people with horror. They sought freedom of religion, but they had no wish to shed

our monarch. The pious resignation with which he bore sufferings had greatly endeared him to the nation; and firmness with which he conducted himself during his drew upon him the respect of mankind. His mind was bent to virtue, but he was better suited to direct a regular established government than to check the pretensions of a popular assembly, and it was his misfortune to be brought just at the period when the exercise of arbitrary power began to feel restraint from the genius of liberty: a situation of peculiar difficulty, and which required great prudence, with no common portion of firmness of character. No wonder then that a king who was wholly deficient in the latter quality, should have become the dupe of a small number of bold and ambitious spirits.

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## CHAPTER XI.

### THE COMMONWEALTH.

At the very moment that the royal victim was sacrificed at the scaffold, while his blood was yet reeking on the scaffold, a declaration was read in Cheapside, declaring it treason to assume the title of king to any person without the authority of parliament; and asserting that the supreme power was vested in the representatives of the people. The republican party in the lower house aimed at forming a new government, as that which would best shelter them from the vengeance of their enemies, and give them the advantage of power. Accordingly their first step was to abolish the office of lords, and the office of king; and a few more days they concentrated within themselves all the authorities of legislative government. A council of state, consisting of forty-one members, with full powers for twelve months, was next appointed to preserve general tranquillity: and some of those took an oath

expressive of their approval of the king's trial, of the abolition of monarchy, and of the house of lords; but two, among whom was Fairfax, respectfully refused to sign it in that form, and for them the obnoxious clauses were purged. The royal effigy on the great seal was superseded by a representation of the House of Commons, surrounded by this inscription: "*In the first year of Freedom, by God's blessing restored.*" The writs ran in the name of "the lords of the liberty of England by authority of parliament" which changes were chiefly formed under the direction of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Martin; and their efforts were exerted to keep their enemies from entering their assembly. Some of those royalists who had been foremost in their endeavours to restore the king, were sacrificed to the demands of the fanatics who, with bibles in their hands, prayed for their punishment.

The new government soon found it had cause for apprehension. In some counties the poor were reduced to a state of famine; and the levellers, whose number increased daily, under their courageous leader, colonel Lilburne, were so bold that the council of state exercised an absolute and arbitrary power; they even went so far as to express their opinion that the tyranny now practised by the council would soon be transferred to one tyrant, and that Cromwell aimed to be that tyrant.

Lilburne presented himself at the bar of the commons, with petitions, praying for the exercise of equitable justice in the state, for liberty of conscience, the abolition of tithes, and for every minister to receive an annual income of £1000 to be raised by a rate on the parishioners. The government resisted these demands; but in vain were orders issued to prohibit private meetings of soldiers or officers; the soldiers refused to obey their commanders; till Cromwell, partly by force of arms, and partly by stratagem, obtained a complete victory over them, and took four hundred of the mutinous prisoners. The suppression of the mutiny gave to Cromwell leisure to contemplate the state of Scotland. He had left the Scots under the control of Argyle and his party. After the death of Charles I., his son, Charles II., was proclaimed

burgh, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland ;  
 with a provision that the parliament should be satisfied  
 with the adherence to the national covenant of Scotland.

The commonwealth condemned the measure, and even  
 the commissioners at Gravesend, whom the Scots had  
 been to offer the conditions to Charles on which they were  
 to give him the Scottish crown. This proceeding  
 failed, but did not prevent the deputation : other commis-  
 sioners were appointed, who proceeded to Holland, where  
 Charles resided with his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange,  
 and they were followed by deputies from other parties in  
 England, so that Charles became perplexed in what manner  
 to proceed, especially as his English advisers spoke against the  
 measures proposed by the Scots. However, he assured the  
 commissioners that they should find him ready to provide security for  
 religion, the union of the two kingdoms, and the peace  
 and prosperity of Scotland ; but he refused to comply with  
 their other demands, as he could not make them compatible  
 with his conscience, his liberty, and his honour. With these  
 sentiments Charles departed from Holland, and went to visit  
 his mother in France, from whence he purposed to join the  
 royal army in Ireland.

James Well had, with affected reluctance, accepted the lieu-  
 tenancy of Ireland. We find from the council-book that he  
 received two thousand pounds quarterly, besides a  
 salary as lieutenant during his government there. He left  
 London with a pompous parade of attendants, and  
 sailed from Milford-haven, proceeding direct to the siege of  
 Drogheda, where he obtained a complete victory over the  
 rebels, but which he afterwards disgraced by permitting a  
 cruel massacre ; so that for five days the streets of Drogheda  
 ran with blood : at Wexford the same tragical scene was re-  
 enacted ; and wherever he was opposed to the royalists he was  
 only successful and cruel. In the following spring he  
 was called by his colleagues in the English parliament, to  
 take the command of the army destined to make war against  
 Scotland.

When the young king left the Hague, it was at the request

of the royalists, and by the advice of Ormond, that he proceeded towards Ireland; but he delayed so long on the matter that the prudence of pursuing his first intention became a matter of doubt. In the island of Jersey he met deputies from the parliament, and from the kirk of Scotland. To the proposals Charles listened with reluctance; he hoped from the exertions of Montrose, who, in the north of Scotland had already succeeded in obtaining money and men to establishing him on the throne; but his small army was opposed by a number of regular troops under David Leslie, and in the first battle most of the loyalists were slain. Montrose disguised as a husbandman, attempted to evade his enemies but being betrayed, he was hastily condemned to death, and sentenced to be hanged for three hours on a gibbet thirty feet high, his head to be fixed on a spike in Edinburgh, his arms on the gates of Perth or Sterling, his legs on those of Glasgow or Aberdeen, and his body interred by the hangman in the burrowmuir. The failure of Montrose excited the fears of Charles lest he should lose the Scottish throne; and to secure it he declared himself willing to submit to their conditions. On that occasion he bound himself to take the Scottish covenant, never to allow the practice of the catholic religion in Ireland, or any part of his dominions; to follow the advice of the parliament in civil matters, and in religion to submit to the kirk. These preliminaries being settled, the king was received with regal dignity on his arrival in the frith of Forth. This was the event which called Cromwell from his conquests in Ireland; it being an opinion entertained by the commonwealth, that war would oblige the Scots to abandon Charles, or Scotland to become a province of England.

Fairfax openly disapproved of the plan; but Cromwell was received on his return with honour, a palace was allotted for his residence, and he was amply rewarded for his services; and Fairfax having, from conscientious motives, declined the office of commander-in-chief, it was conferred on Cromwell. Thus did this aspiring man work his road to the highest honours by such secret means as deceived even those who knew him best.



tries were prepared for war, and Cromwell, the God of justice in his cause, (for it will be as ever ready to use the influence of fanaticism, period was very prevalent over the weakness his march to Scotland, at the head of an army and, all used to military discipline, and full of their commander, on whom the laurels of victory fresh. The English were surprised to find the

Berwick and Edinburgh desolate and uninhabited, as the people had abandoned their homes, and had taken with them, their corn and cattle, from a belief that Cromwell had exercised unheard-of cruelties wherever he had been in Ireland, a report which originated in reports that were issued by David Leslie, the Scottish commander, that he would lay waste that part of the country in order to prevent the English from finding provisions on their way. So, it succeeded, that sickness began to thin the English ranks. Cromwell could provoke David to hazard

nothing. In the interim both parties hoped to prosper by the exercises of religion. The English prayed and preached. The Scottish ministers kept them in length of prayer, and compelled the people to hear six long sermons in a day. But while the English boasted that they, by punishing the late king, had atoned for the evils of a civil war, the Scots feared that, if they crowned the young king, they might draw upon their country the punishment due to his father's sins; and to expiate themselves from this heinous offence, the parliament required from him an expiatory declaration.

When Charles returned a positive refusal, but that to persevere in the refusal would cost him the crown, and, he yielded to the advice of his friends, and did not commit the noxious deed. A battle at Dunbar proved the superiority of the English army; the Scottish courage having been broken by the success of Cromwell was no longer doubted; he opened her gates, and all the country to the Forth was at his disposal. To Charles this was a matter of great importance, as he had been as a mere puppet

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete each task.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress regularly to ensure that the project is on track.

5. The final step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves comparing the actual outcomes with the objectives and goals to determine the effectiveness of the project and identify areas for improvement.

and there found a safe asylum until he was discovered to join the royalist army, which, by promise in the Pitchcroft ground near Worcester.

Ale of the king's forces scarcely amounted to twelve men, of whom about one sixth part only were men; while his opponents in the neighbourhood, well at their head, amounted to thirty thousand. In partial encounters, an obstinate and decisive fight on the 3d of September. which ended in the defeat of the royal army, with the loss of three thousand men and a greater number taken prisoners.

In the famous battle Charles fought with a valour worthy of the crown for which he was contending: and the battle, aided by superior numbers, rewarded the efforts of the king with great bravery and courage: the contest was long and desperate: so much so, indeed, that even the king himself owned "it was as stiff a contest for him as he ever he had seen."

After the defeat of the royalists, some were as fortunate as to escape the search of their pursuers. The gallant earl of Manchester was one of the eight who suffered death: he offered his life in exchange for his life, but the parliament refused to accept of it. He was intruded to Lenthall, where he was confined until he was executed.

The parliament offered a thousand pounds for the king, and moreover employed every precaution to prevent his escape. Some weeks had passed without success of him, and it was conjectured that he was not far from some one who was acquainted with the way to the north. It was known that he had landed at Faversham, a fortnight after the battle.

The adventures of the royal fugitive during this intermission exhibit numerous instances of surprising escape, and of unshaken fidelity in that of his adherents. He was aided by Charles Giffard, and a servant named John, who got safe to Whiteladies, where he was hidden for some time. He then went through the ceremony of changing his name, and changed his clothes for the garments of a shepherd. He appeared in places where he was not expected, and in the end he was discovered.

old and dirty; his shoes were heavy, and slashed <sup>to cut his</sup> feet; his stockings of green yarn were much worn <sup>and dirty</sup> and an old grey steeple-crowned hat without band <sup>or lining</sup>: thus dressed and carrying a crooked thorn stick <sup>and a long</sup> wood-bill in his hand, he announced his pretended employment. At sunrise, the friends who had accompanied him <sup>departed</sup>; and the king, with the four Penderels, <sup>brothers, and</sup> his guide Yates, who had married their sister, <sup>departed from</sup> Whiteladies to go to Boscobel House, which was <sup>near John</sup> Penderel\*, the fifth brother, had conducted lord <sup>Wilmot to</sup> London, whither it was agreed the king would <sup>also go and</sup> inquire for him by the name of Ashburnham, a <sup>the Three</sup> Cranes in the Vintry: but Charles changed his <sup>plan and his</sup> route, of which he found means to acquaint lord <sup>Wilmot</sup> Wilmot. Resolved on crossing to France, the young monarch <sup>Mr. V</sup> took the direction of Wales, and got to the house of a Catholic recusant at Madely; but there finding <sup>the</sup> militia were keeping watch in the village, and the <sup>Mark</sup> bridges were guarded, he availed himself of the darkness <sup>and</sup> the night to retrace his steps to Boscobel, and found <sup>one</sup> house, colonel Careless, a faithful adherent, who knew <sup>Wes</sup> loyal man, and every place of concealment†. Charles <sup>sp</sup> the next day with the colonel, under the branches of a <sup>oak</sup> oak, William Penderel and his wife Joan keeping <sup>to</sup> give alarm in case of danger. At night the king <sup>re</sup> took his hiding place in Boscobel House. From thence to Mosely, to meet lord Wilmot at Mr. Whitgrave's, <sup>an</sup> an alarm of soldiers coming to search the house, Charles <sup>pro</sup> ceeded to Bentley, and having exchanged his labours

\* The Penderels were originally six brothers, living at Hobbal Grange, in <sup>of</sup> Tong. John, George, and Thomas, served in the armies of Charles I. They <sup>killed</sup> killed at Stow; the other two were employed after the war as woodwards at <sup>of</sup> the remaining three, William took care of the house at Boscobel, Humphrey <sup>at</sup> at the mill, and Richard rented some part of Hobbal Grange. They were all <sup>servants</sup> servants in the interest of the Stuarts. After the restoration of Charles, they <sup>waited</sup> waited upon his majesty at Whitehall, and were graciously received and <sup>rewarded</sup> rewarded.

† This was the person who conveyed the news to the princess of Orange that <sup>he</sup> he had made his escape. The king gave him for his coat of arms, by the name of <sup>an</sup> an oak in a field, charged with three royal crowns, and a crown of oak leaves <sup>and</sup> and with a sword and sceptre crossed saltierwise.

ray cloth, as the garb of a serving man. he rode  
 Jane behind him, to Mr. Norton's. It was there  
 by; and from thence he accompanied his supposed  
 the house of colonel Windham, where his father  
 planned. A ship being hired at Lyme to convey  
 the coast of France, a widow, the mistress of a  
 at Charmouth, consented to afford a temporary  
 a gentleman in disguise and a young female who  
 l from an unfeeling guardian. Charles arrived the  
 evening with Juliana Comingsby behind him. The  
 comed the supposed lovers; but a fatal disappointment  
 awaited the fugitive; no ship could be detected in  
 the ship's master was married, and the reason—  
 his wife had prevented his fulfilling the engage-  
 with sorrowful forebodings Charles returned so  
 he could not remain longer at colonel Windham's,  
 mysterious rumours in the neighbourhood. At the  
 de's, near Salisbury, Charles was again secure; and  
 the good offices of colonel Gunter, and Mansell, a  
 hant, a collier lying at New Shoreham was engaged.  
 l, the master of it, no sooner saw the king, than he  
 him as commander of the royal fleet in 1645, and  
 had been detained by him in the river. This man  
 o put his sovereign safe on the coast of France.  
 stood with easy sail, and floated with the tide in  
 on of Deal, to which port she was bound. The  
 ing been previously arranged between the king and  
 l, his majesty in the evening informed the crew,  
 d his companion (lord Wilmot) were merchants in  
 scaping from their creditors; and, giving them  
 lings to drink, asked them to join in requesting  
 to run for the French coast. After numerous  
 d objections, Tattershall steered across the channel,  
 the adventurers at Fecamp.

ions of Europe had felt a great interest in the fate  
 ing king: they rejoiced at his safety, and admired  
 spirit he had displayed in the field, as well as the  
 d prudence with which he had extricated him

from the hands of his enemies. The energy of his mind held forth a presage of future greatness, when experience should have matured his judgment; nor did any then suppose that one so suitably gifted by nature for the high station he was born to fill, would have allowed those hopes to be blighted by the withering influence of dissipation.

The system of the government at this period and was called the commonwealth, to give the a notion that it had for its object the common good; but in fact, a few persons only, under the cover of parliament, ruled the kingdom, on the ground that "power gives right," and the presence of a standing army of five thousand men awed them into submission. The levellers proved a strong party in opposition to the leader. Lilburne, who, with many others, was a prisoner in the Tower, contrived to direct their rebellious spirit by the bias of his pen in various pamphlets, the influence of which writings excited fresh discontent, and his followers considered him a martyr in the cause. To grant him a public trial was thought too hazardous, and the court, from prudential motives, gave him his liberty: the use he made of it, was, to publish fresh tracts offensive to the government, and soon after he brought a charge against the commissioners of the Haberdasher's Hall of injustice and tyranny, which drew from him the sentence of perpetual banishment. The royalists were obliged to pursue their plans as secretly as possible: meetings in the different districts under the appearance of country amusements or religious assemblies, they kept up a correspondence with Charles after his arrival in Scotland and with the exiles abroad; but the system of espionage had begun, and their schemes were detected before the execution of them had commenced.

Ireland, Ireton, to whom Cromwell had entrusted the government, proceeded in the same victorious career, and signaled the lord-general, and the Catholics, irritated by the execution of their countrymen, should have chosen Scotland rather than Ireland for their refuge, and disgusted also at the violation of the truce made with their commissioners at Breda,

eral feeling of discontent towards their King, and petitioned for his removal. He resigned the dukedom of Lancaster, a catholic nobleman, but most unwillingly. As long as he could, he endeavoured to oppose the designs of the commonwealth to subjugate Ireland; but the proclamation of the year 1653 the whole island submitted to the superior power of Cromwell: and from that time the laws of England were followed in the exercise of the judicial power in the administration of its laws. The great number of the natives, who during the last ten years had been obliged to enter foreign service, had materially diminished the population of the kingdom, the wives and families having been sent to the West Indies: yet which Cromwell had expected to extinguish the catholic religion in Ireland, failed in its intended effect. For, notwithstanding the persecution of the Protestants, they were still in number the majority. Finding this to be the case, Cromwell offered pardon to the fugitives who had settled in New England, and to the late king, to accept of lands in Ireland, and to the boon.

The settlement for Ireland may be seen in note B, to Lingard's eleventh volume, which he has the original, in the possession of Thomas

and regulations at this time established were favourable to the catholic clergy, who were ordered to return within twenty days after the proclamation. The necessity induced them to remain, concealed themselves in the caverns of the mountains, from whence they issued at the hours of darkness to carry the comforts of life to the huts of their suffering brethren; but if one was discovered who were scattered throughout the country, his religious antipathy to Catholics and the severity of the law steeled his breast against the admission of mercy. The delinquent was sure to meet his death at the

part of the regalia, the royal robes, and the records, were sent to England by Mr. [Name] Secretary; all authority derived from the

from the hands of his enemies. The energy of his mind held forth a presage of future greatness, when experience should have matured his judgment; nor did any then suppose that one so suitably gifted by nature for the high station he was born to fill, would have allowed those hopes to be blighted by the withering influence of dissipation.

The system of the government at this period was military, and was called the commonwealth, to give the lower classes a notion that it had for its object the common good of all; but in fact, a few persons only, under the cover of a nominal parliament, ruled the kingdom, on the ground that "power gives right," and the presence of a standing army of fifty-five thousand men awed them into submission. Still the levellers proved a strong party in opposition to them. Their leader, Lilburne, who, with many others, was a prisoner in the Tower, contrived to direct their rebellious spirits through the bias of his pen in various pamphlets, the influence of which writings excited fresh discontent, and his followers considered him a martyr in the cause. To grant Lilburne a public trial was thought too hazardous, and the council, for prudential motives, gave him his liberty: the use he made of it, was, to publish fresh tracts offensive to the government, and soon after he brought a charge against the commissioners of Haberdasher's Hall of injustice and tyranny, which drew upon him the sentence of perpetual banishment. The royalists were obliged to pursue their plans as secretly as possible: meeting in the different districts under the appearance of country amusements or religious assemblies, they kept up a correspondence with Charles after his arrival in Scotland and with the exiles abroad; but the system of espionage had been adopted, and their schemes were detected before the execution of them had commenced.

In Ireland, Ireton, to whom Cromwell had entrusted the care of the government, proceeded in the same victorious career that had signalized the lord-general, and the Catholics, irritated that Charles should have chosen Scotland rather than Ireland for his first scene of action, and disgusted also at the violation of a treaty he had made with their commissioners at Drogheda,



red a general feeling of discontent towards their lieutenants, Ormond, and petitioned for his removal. He resigned office to the marquess of Clanricard, a catholic nobleman, who accepted it most unwillingly. As long as he could, he directed the efforts of the commonwealth to subjugate Ireland; and at the commencement of the year 1653 the whole island was brought to the superior power of Cromwell; and from that time the laws of England were followed in the exercise of the government, and in the administration of its laws. The exhortation of the natives, who during the last ten years had been allowed to enter foreign service, had materially increased the population of the kingdom, the wives and families of those exiles having been sent to the West Indies; yet the policy, by which Cromwell had expected to extinguish the power of Catholics in Ireland, failed in its intended effect, for, in proportion to the Protestants, they were still in number about eight to one. Finding this to be the case, Cromwell endeavored to induce the fugitives who had settled in New England during the reign of the late king, to accept of lands in Ireland, but they refused the boon.

The act of settlement for Ireland may be seen in note B, appendix to Lingard's eleventh volume, which he has copied from the original, in the possession of Thomas Digges, esq.

The laws and regulations at this time established were oppressive to the catholic clergy, who were ordered to return to Ireland within twenty days after the proclamation. Those whose piety induced them to remain, concealed themselves in the caverns of the mountains, from whence they issued during the hours of darkness to carry the comforts of religion to the huts of their suffering brethren; but if one of the military who were scattered throughout the country detected a priest, his religious antipathy to Catholics and the prospect of reward steeled his breast against the admission of mercy, and the delinquent was sure to meet his death at the gallows.

In Scotland, part of the regalia, the royal robes, and many of the ancient records, were sent to England by Monk, as trophies of victory; all authority derived from any other

ce than the parliament of England was abolished, and Scots found themselves compelled to the most abject submission. The commissioners even attempted to incorporate it with England, but the Scottish spirit of independence frustrated every plan to that effect, and the transactions between the commonwealth and foreign powers drew the attention of Cromwell to other objects. His treaties with the States of Portugal and Spain, though hostile at their commencement, ended peaceably; but the intercourse between the commonwealth and the United States of Holland had a very different termination: the long minority of William III. gave to the English government a prospect of ambitious speculation under the offer of establishing an intimate union between that and the United Provinces, which would guarantee mutual benefits to both; the commonwealth aimed by the incorporation of the United Provinces to make a great and powerful republic; but the treatment which the English ambassadors met with at the Hague, shewed that popular feeling was much against the measure. However, after Cromwell had defeated Charles and his royalist army at the battle of Worcester, the Belgians were more disposed to make an amicable adjustment.

The power Cromwell had obtained awakened his ambition, and he adopted the usual mode of intrigue to extend it to the throne, as well as the authority of a king. With this view, in the winter of 1653, he summoned a meeting of officers and members of his own house, and proposed that they should consider on the form of government most likely to be beneficial to the nation; but finding they had no intention of making him king, but would, in that case, prefer a sovereign monarch, Cromwell, with apparent calmness, gave his opinion that "somewhat of a monarchical government would be most effectual, if it could be established with the liberties of the people as Englishman and Christians." Finding his colleagues in the mind he exactly wished on having a confidential conference with Whitbread, he opened it by observing, that the discontent of the army rendered it necessary to establish a more full authority, which should be competent to control their operations, in order to prevent

the "good cause." The lawyer maintained it to be impossible to limit the supreme power of the parliament. But Cromwell exclaimed, "What if a man should take it to be king?" Whitelock shewed that it would be to him, who, by the command of the army and the majority in the house, enjoyed the full power, to seek envying the name of king; and suggested a doubt, whether one who had fought with him to establish a republican government, would be equally willing to adventure their lives in a civil cause of "Cromwell against Stuart?" The lord-general desired Whitelock to speak his thoughts plainly, upon which the latter advised the placing the son of the late king on the throne, on conditions, which should be guaranteed by a treaty, to secure the nation's rights, and to insure a place beneath the throne to the lord-general\*.

This advice lost Whitelock the confidence of the general, who suggested his own plans, and acted with a degree of cunning, of which his opponents had not thought capable, though the several leaders were all aware that he contemplated to seat himself upon the throne; his mode of possession of it shewed that his talents equally fitted him to be in the cabinet as to command in the field. In a council it had been agreed to petition for a dissolution of parliament, which, though it had surmounted great difficulties, for its tyrannical exercise of power and neglect of justice, was become obnoxious to the people, and to the army. The commons refused to comply with the king's request to convoke a new parliament, but proposed to supply the vacancies by new elections. This seemed to Cromwell a moment for decisive action, and, without waiting to consult the lords, he hastily proceeded to the house, accompanied by armed soldiers, which he stationed in divisions at the entrance of the lobby, and on the stairs. Having entered the house, he informed his friend St. John, that he

At that interview, Cromwell thought it prudent to advise Lovell, the tutor to the prince of Gloucester, who remained at Carisbrook Castle since the death of his father, to solicit permission to convey the prince to his sister the princess of Orange; which was granted, with the sum of five hundred pounds to pay the expense of the journey.

was come with an intent of doing what grieved him to his very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; "but," added he, "it is absolutely necessary for the glory of God and the good of the nation." He then listened for some time to the debates on the only of vacancies. When they were finished, and the speaker proceeding to propose the question, Cromwell, suddenly rising up, reviled the parliament in the severest terms of tyranny, cruelty, oppression, and robbery of the public stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the speaker to enter, "For shame!" said he to the members, "get up and give place to honest men; to those who will fully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament. I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. They are done with you; he has chosen other instruments for doing his work."

Sir Harry Vane rising to remonstrate against them he exclaimed, "O! sir Harry Vane, sir Harry Vane deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" and pointing to the members, he called one a drunkard, another a glutton, heaped upon all reproaches for their dishonest and profligate lives; then calling to a soldier to seize the mace, "What we do," he asked, "with this fool's bauble? Here it goes away. It is you," he continued, addressing the members, "that have driven me to this; I have prayed the Lord and day that he would rather stay me, than put me up to this work." Having previously commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he caused the door to be locked, and putting the keys in his pocket, retired to his apartment in Whitehall.

This extraordinary man, who by one bold and daring stroke abolished the new republic, and by the act united in his person the whole power, civil and military, of the three kingdoms, was born at Huntingdon in the year 1599; he was of a good family, but being the son of a second brother inherited only a small paternal estate. Though educated in the usual style, his genius was little fitted for the elegant and useful pursuits of literature, and therefore he made no progress in his studies at the universities. He ev-

lected himself to a very dissolute and disorderly life, consuming his time and fortune in gaming, drinking, debauchery, and country riots. At length he was suddenly seized with the spirit of reformation; he married, affected a grave and rectified behaviour, and seemed to vie in holiness with the most rigid of the puritanical party. His house was now turned into a conventicle, and his fortune was soon exhausted by his hospitality to his brethren. He then took a farm at Ives, but neglected his temporal affairs by indulging his religious reveries. When his circumstances were very improved, he found means to be chosen member of the long parliament for the town of Cambridge. The ardour of his frequently induced him to rise in the house, but for words of two years he was not heard with attention; his manner being ungraceful, his voice untuneable, his elocution confused, and his speeches tedious, obscure, confused, and unintelligible; his actions, however, were as decisive, bold, and judicious, as his speeches were wavering, prolix, and inconclusive.

He was forty-three years of age when he first engaged in a military profession; and by the mere force of genius, and by an indefatigable application, he soon became an excellent officer, though perhaps he never obtained the same as a surmounting commander. He raised a troop of horse, and quarters at Cambridge, and exercised great rigour at that university, which was warmly attached to the party. He soon convinced the world that no difficulties deterred him from serving the cause which he had embraced. He engaged freeholders and farmers' sons, instead of nervous inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns, and increased his troop to a regiment, in which were all the most zealous fanatics in England. He he prayed, he fought, he punished, and he re- By merit he speedily rose to be the first in command was only the second in rank; and by fraud and violence soon became the first in the state. In proportion to the increase of his power, his talents seemed to be enlarged, and daily discovered new abilities, which he was

known to possess till some particular emergency called them into action. All Europe were amazed to see a nation so restless and turbulent, who, for encroachments on their liberties had dethroned and murdered their hereditary prince now reduced to slavery by the immediate descendant of an obscure private gentleman.

No regret was expressed at the dissolution of the long parliament, as it was called. The royalists looked on this step as one preparatory to the restoration of royalty; the army and navy declared themselves ready to stand or fall with the lord-general; and the saints rejoiced that "the fifth monarchy, the reign of Christ, might be established upon earth." Yet, some of the parliamentary transactions proved highly beneficial to the nation; and shewed that its leading members possessed energy and talents, since they achieved the conquests of Ireland and Scotland, and formed a navy which rivalled that of Holland, and acquired an authority that astonished the rest of Europe.

Cromwell, in dissolving the parliament, had appeared in a new character; previous to that act, he had used the precaution of concealing his real intentions, under the pretext of yielding to the opinion of others, and had affected in all his undertakings the sacrifice of private feeling to general good; but here, he had snatched the reins of government into his own hands, with no other adviser than the suggestions, as he said, of the will of God.

Oliver was an adept in artifice and intrigue, and he was aware that among his dependents there were some who had energy enough to become his opponents, should he assume the entire government of the state at this period; he therefore contrived, by delegating the executive authority to men who had neither wisdom nor prudence to direct it, to insure the return of that power into his own keeping. The period that intervened between the dissolution of the long parliament and the election of a protector, was signalised by the "Barebone Parliament," so denominated from one of its members, a leather-dealer in Fleet-street, who bore the name of Praise-God Barebones—and consisted of men reputed

the different parishes as "faithful, fearing God, and hating covetousness." The council of the army issued the writs to each person, in the name of the lord-general, and the latter addressed this assembly of saints at their first meeting, in a strain of godliness which made his admirers suppose he was really inspired, and that the spirit of God spoke by him. After his pious exhortation, Cromwell placed on the table the instrument which gave to them the supreme authority for fifteen months; when it was to be transmitted to another assembly, and to this instrument his own seal was attached.

This parliament of saints disappointed the expectations of the lord-general, who had supposed that they would have been submissive to his will; instead of which, they exhibited great obstinacy in maintaining their own opinions, and particularly in the case of his former opponent Lilburne, who, being cited to trial on the charge of felony, for having returned from banishment without leave, was acquitted by the jury; but at the instigation of the lord-general, Lilburne was confined in the Tower after that acquittal, for expressions made use of in his defence, and sent from thence to Elizabeth-castle in Jersey, where he was kept until a short time before his death in 1657. He died a Quaker.

The members of this saintly parliament were men of independent circumstances, and were classed in two parties, the Independents, and the Anabaptists. The first possessed the greater portion of talents, the latter professed a higher degree of sanctity; these aimed to reform every kind of abuse, and, consequently, drew upon them the displeasure of the higher classes, and the hatred of the army, the lawyers, and the clergy. Of these reformers, two famed preachers, Feakes and Powel, introduced the subjects which were discussed in Parliament in their weekly sermons. They threatened with every temporal calamity the man who should advise peace with Holland, because their fanatic zeal led them to say God had given Holland into the hands of the English to make it the landing place of the saints; and when the Anabaptists learned that Cromwell was against incorporating the **P**rovinces with the Commonwealth of England, they

declared him to be "the beast in the Apocalypse, the dragon, and the man of sin." When at length the preachers were brought before Cromwell, they charged him with the unjust assumption of power; but they had rendered themselves so generally obnoxious, that their enjoyment of authority was seen by all to be near its close: the next day of their meeting, it was proposed by colonel Sydenham that they should proceed to Whitehall, and surrender the power which had been reposed in them back into the hands of Cromwell. The lord-general affected surprise, and in a style of humility, usually adopted on such occasions, declared himself unwilling to take upon himself such a weight of trust, but again, as usual, his reluctance yielded; that same day he went in procession to Westminster-hall, and after listening to the persuasive arguments of Lambert and the officers of the council, he granted the prayer they made to him, in the name of the army and the three nations, that he would accept the office of protector.

Jessop, a clerk, then read the instrument which vested the power in a lord protector and a parliament. It contained forty-two articles, which, when Cromwell had heard read, he with uplifted hands, and his eyes raised to heaven, swore to observe. That same day the acceptance of the protectorship was announced with the ceremony usual at the accession of a monarch to the throne.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE PROTECTORATE.

THE same hypocritical feeling which directed Cromwell in answer to a gentleman who applied for a lock of Charles the First, after his execution, "*No, sir, that must not be done, for I swore to him, when he was living, that not a hair of his head should perish,*" continued to govern his ev-



poetry was inherent to him, and accompanied him all his life. In the commencement of his career it was useful to him; for in that day an affectation of godliness prevailed among the people; but by the time that he obtained the Protectorate, his opponents had become so well acquainted with his artifice, that the boldest of them declared they would no longer be his dupes, and denounced him to be "a lying, perjured villain." Perhaps no man knew better how to deal towards his enemies than Cromwell: to the most arrogant he was the humble individual, who would have been "the staff of the shepherd to the office of protector;" to the royalists he was less forbearing, because he feared them more; but to all he behaved with caution, and modified his measures to his circumstances. Some he removed from their power, others he obliged to give security for their future conduct, and the most violent he allowed to undergo the punishment of the law. Among the latter number, were those who formerly laboured in the same vineyard with Pym and Powel, the anabaptist preachers, and Southworth, a catholic priest, who had been banished thirty-seven years before, and who, being apprehended again, acknowledged that he was a Catholic and in orders: the foreign powers solicited in vain the pardon of Southworth; Cromwell hoped to purchase the favour of the godly by his blood, and the priest suffered the death of a martyr at the advanced age of seventy-two.

During the reign of Charles the Second, he remained still in Paris, from which he corresponded with his English friends, many of whom acted treacherously towards him; particularly a person named Henshaw, who went to Paris, and being refused an audience, on his return detailed a plan to the royalists by which the protector was to be assassinated, and the royal cause proclaimed. When he had collected a number of disaffected persons he disclosed their names to the protector; they were apprehended, and Cromwell wrote to Charles, that if he encouraged such plots he would convince him that it would be an easy matter for him to retaliate, and that he would be successful.

In Ireland and Scotland the change of ~~g~~ <sup>g</sup>over given great dissatisfaction. Fleetwood, the ~~g~~ <sup>g</sup>ove former kingdom, knew not how to reconcile ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> cl proposed to resign his office. In some of the ~~g~~ <sup>g</sup>arri monstrance was drawn up, which stated the ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup> cons a single person conducting the government. Cromwe every storm by his caution and firmness. In ~~Scot~~ <sup>Scot</sup> military operations of General Monk subdued ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> roy Scotland was incorporated with England in 1651, the were absolved from their allegiance to Charles by ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> an of Cromwell, and the whole frame of their constitution subverted.

The foreign powers had anticipated the success of Crom and all who had reason to hope from his friendship, or from his enmity, hastened to present their congratulations. He received their ambassadors with the state of a sovereign and when he invited them to dinner, he sat alone on one side of the table, they were seated on the opposite side. After the repast they joined the ladies in the drawing-room, where they were entertained with music and the singing psalm.

The victories obtained by Monk and his colleagues on the Dutch fleet was a subject of exultation to Cromwell, as well as to England; and founded the basis of an amicable relation between our country and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. When the Spanish ambassador, Cromwell received offers from the Spanish monarch to assist him in mounting the throne of royalty, should he feel desirous of obtaining the throne. Philip hoped, by this alliance with the protector, to should limit the aspiring ambition of France; not to let the latter state backward in proposing terms of alliance as a satisfactory mode of addressing the usurper was fixed upon. Cromwell refused the style of cousin to the king of Louis would not permit him to use that of a brother in length the distinction of "monsieur le protecteur" was adopted with success: but the protector, aware that for several years divided the interests of the two nations, considered each party desirous of his assistance.

was in no haste to conclude a treaty with either, and the meeting of his first parliament called his attention to the business of his own government.

The parade observed on that occasion exceeded in magnificence the display made by any preceding sovereign; though the protector himself was chiefly distinguished by his superior simplicity, and the privilege of having his head covered. In a speech which lasted three hours, he described the state of the nation, mixing in his discourse quotations from scripture for the edification of the godly, and many professions of humility, to mollify the resentment of the republicans. Notwithstanding every means had been used to influence the election of the members, the opposition party alarmed Cromwell, who, having secured the principal posts in the city by his distribution of the military, proceeded to the painted chamber, and there commanded the attendance of the house: he frankly told them that his calling was from God, his testimony from the people; and that no one but God and the people should ever take his office from him; and he left a parchment for signatures, which contained an acknowledgment that the government, as it was now settled in one person and a parliament, should remain unaltered.

His conduct opened the eyes of the nation, and they considered his frequent protestations in favour of a retired life as a clumsy subterfuge to cover his ambition. After waiting three months for the decision of the house, which had sat in a committee on the legality of the instrument that embodied the executive authority, Cromwell again summoned the members to meet in the painted chamber, and having reproached them with their neglect, which, he said, "was more than the Lord would bear," he added, "it was his duty to tell them, that their continuance was not for the benefit of the nation, and, therefore, he did then and there declare that he dissolved the parliament."

The firmness, the prudence, and the caution exercised by the protector at that important crisis, displayed superior talent, directed by a cool and unprejudiced judgment. The projects suggested for the surprisal of his person, and the

seizure of the strong places, were frustrated by the wisdom of his measures. The royalists felt their hopes revive, and Charles vainly endeavoured, from his residence at Cologne, to make them aware of the necessity of caution; they relied on simultaneous risings on a certain day, and, at his request, he disguised his person and proceeded to Middleburgh in Zealand, that he might be able to cross over to England, while the earl of Rochester and Sir Joseph Wapstaff arrived to take the command of the insurgents. Charles was proclaimed king in Salisbury, from which town the royalists proceeded into Devonshire, but finding their party decrease in number, they disbanded without any engagement, and Rochester returned to his exiled monarch.

Cromwell forbore to punish any of those men who were formerly among the number of his friends, but who had now become implacable enemies because they saw that he sought to trample upon the liberties of the people; the whole weight of his resentment fell upon the royalists: Penrddock and Grove underwent the sentence of traitors at Exeter; many suffered on the gallows there, and in the city of Salisbury; and numbers were sent to Barbadoes to be sold as slaves. But though the protector did not inflict bodily punishment on his former friends, he adopted many arbitrary measures that were felt throughout the nation; and the whole kingdom was under military government.

While things were in this state at home, two armaments sailed with secret instructions. One, commanded by Blake, sailed up the Mediterranean, under a pretext of chastising the pirates, but with the real design to capture the fleet laden with treasure from the Indies for Spain. A discovery of this intention caused Philip to frustrate its execution, and Blake was compelled to be satisfied with having destroyed the fleet of Tunis, which obtained from the Dey of Tripoli an acknowledgment of submission to the English flag. The expedition was conducted by Penn and Venables, and was intended for the conquest of St. Domingo. A failure in the original design, which cost them a thousand men, caused them to abandon the enterprise; but on their return they took the

Jamaica, which was then considered only a trifling  
 on; so that on the arrival of the commanders in  
 they were both committed to the Tower.

regard to the treaty with France, an event called, by  
 nts, the massacre but, by Catholics, the rebellion of  
 lois, delayed its completion.

derstand this part of our history, it will be necessary  
 to the middle of the thirteenth century \*, when the  
 s of the "poor men of Lyons" were secretly cherished  
 the valleys of Piedmont, till the period of the refor-  
 and were then exchanged for the creed taught as

The duke of Savoy granted them the free exercise  
 religion, within certain limits; but some not having  
 thin their boundaries, the civilian Andrea Gualdo,  
 s appointed judge between the parties, adjudged that  
 nders should withdraw, but with permission to dispose  
 nds they had planted for their own profit. On learn-  
 sentence, the half civilized mountaineers of Vaudois  
 parties to Turin to remonstrate; while the ministers  
 unicated every individual who sold his land in the  
 l territory. The natives of the valleys belonging to  
 g of France met those of the valleys belonging to the  
 Savoy, and swore to stand by each other; meanwhile  
 spatched messengers for advice to the Church of  
 and the Protestant cantons of Switzerland.

most improbable and exaggerated accounts of these  
 ions were transmitted to the different Protestant

The duke of Savoy was represented as a bigotted  
 olerant prince; the Vaudois as an innocent race,  
 nly crime was their attachment to the reformed faith.  
 ions of the English nation were roused to enthusiasm  
 ause: to Cromwell it offered an opportunity to appear  
 protector of the Protestant religion; and through  
 s, the minister of the French church in London, he  
 to transplant the Vaudois to Ireland, and settle them  
 lands of the Irish Catholics. The first part of the

\* LONGARD, vol. xi. page 261.

proposal they accepted with gratitude ; but the latter they refused."

These troubles in Piedmont served Cromwell with a plea to delay concluding the treaty with France, as he still waited to see the result of the French king's conduct respecting the Vaudois ; but Bordeaux, the French ambassador, treated this excuse as a mere finesse, and said, "the duke of Savoy had as good a right to make laws for his Protestant subjects, as the English government had to dictate to the Catholics of the three kingdoms ; that the Vaudois were rebels, and had incurred the resentment of their sovereign." Cromwell continued his refusal, and when every obstacle was removed by the submission of the Vaudois and their reconciliation with their sovereign, he signed the treaty with reluctance, stipulating, by a secret article, for the exclusion of the Stuarts and their adherents from admission into the kingdom of France. Meanwhile the conduct of the fleet under Penn and Venables, in their attempt to reduce Hispaniola, the English flag, had provoked hostilities from the king of Spain, and Philip sent an order for the immediate return of his ambassador, Don Alonza. All but the protector and his dependents were against a war with Spain ; at length a fleet sailed under the command of Blake and Montague, which had for its object to destroy the shipping in the harbour of Cadix, and, when this design failed, they fell in with the Spanish fleet from America, and brought home a prize of 200,000, which Cromwell declared to be "a testimony of God's acceptance of the engagement against Spain."

The exhausted state of the treasury making it needful to apply for money, a parliament was summoned, and Cromwell now learned the hatred which the people bore to his government ; the voice of the nation called upon the electors to make a last struggle for their liberties, and the kingdom was in a ferment. At the meeting of the members Cromwell made a speech, in which he endeavoured to work upon their fears. In order to produce a conviction of their danger he enumerated the enemies of the nation ; the first of which he stated to be the Spaniard, he being a slave of the pope.

requently a child of darkness; next came Charles and his company of papists; and he concluded with the explanation of the eighty-fifth psalm: "If pope and king, and devil, and all set themselves against us, though they should compass us about like bees, yet in the name of the Lord we shall destroy them. The Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."

As the money granted by this parliament could be brought to public attention was called from that subject to the movement of the "Society of Friends" which, in England, began with George Fox, the son of a weaver at Drayton, at the age of nineteen, having witnessed the noisy amusement of a fair, was led to serious reflection, and thoughts of solitude; and being persuaded that he heard an inward calling him from his home, he began to lead a solitary life and wandered about the country clothed in garments of sack.

He fancied that he was forbidden by the Lord to use oaths, and that he was not to uncover his head, or salute any human being. In 1647 he preached his first sermon at Duckenfield, near Manchester, and soon obtained a large number of followers who also preached, and fancied they were receiving the Divine Spirit. Among the latter was James Nayler who really allowed himself to believe that he was a sign of the coming of Christ. Being examined before a committee of the parliament, they voted that he was guilty of blasphemy, and doomed him to a cruel punishment. He stood with his neck in the pillory two hours, received 310 lashes, and some days after had the letter B burnt on his forehead, and his tongue bored with a red-hot iron. He was then taken to Bristol, where he had committed the offence, and was whipped in five parts of that city. He was afterwards placed in solitary confinement, until discharged by the parliament: his sufferings had materially injured his health, and in 1660 he was found in a dying state in a field, and expired.

As the parliament was occupied in punishing an offence which they had no right to meddle, Cromwell was now able to concentrate the sovereignty of the three king-

arbitrary conduct set at naught the rights of trial. Whilst the matter was pending, he kept a settled silence ; but when part of the sentence was inflicted, he came forward, as guardian of the people, to know the ground whereupon the house found him guilty. The inquiry was addressed to the members, and the message filled the members with dismay: they deliberated upon it during three days, and then adjourned till the next day, which Cromwell was in no haste to see, his object being already obtained in having drawn the attention of men to the defects of the constitution, since it followed that remedies must be sought. In the evening a bill was presented, praying for a confirmation of the existing constitution, was not expected to pass, but circumstances had changed, and so had the bill. The bill was opposed by his son-in-law Claypole and others ; after being the subject of debate eleven days, it was rejected, and the members of the military council were themselves abandoned by the man who commanded them in the name of office. It happened also that a conspiracy against his life was detected at this period, and operated to his advantage.



who waited upon him, and offered their remon-  
 person; the anabaptists collected to the number of  
 d were proceeding by force, under the persuasion  
 were avenging the cause of the Lord, when their  
 ly was soon compelled to surrender, with the loss of  
 ses and arms. Meanwhile the protector declared  
 did not find it in his duty to God and the country  
 should adopt the alteration proposed to him; he  
 f conscientious doubts, but promised to confer with a  
 tee on the subject. The house waited upon him,  
 ormed a committee, but nothing hastened the de-  
 of Cromwell, who spent a fortnight in delays; but  
 it was whispered that he would accept the title of king,  
 resume the former constitution of a parliament, Lambert,  
 a Desborough, who married the protector's sister, and  
 setwood, his son-in-law, with several more, declared their  
 solution to resign their commissions, and to separate  
 themselves from his councils and service for ever. This  
 brought the farce to a conclusion, and Cromwell refused the  
 title of king. However, his friends again renewed the sub-  
 ject in the house, and the new form of government was  
 adopted, with this difference, that the title of king was ex-  
 changed for that of "lord-protector," and he underwent a  
 pompous inauguration, at which the people shouted "Long  
 live his highness; God save the lord-protector."

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### CHAPTER XIII.

#### THE PROTECTORATE (CONTINUED.)

king Charles II. retired to Paris, after the defeat of  
 party at the battle of Worcester, he kept up the appearance  
 a court, in which the different aspirants to the honours of  
 ce were exiles, who had no other channel by which to feed  
 ir ambition, save the belief that Charles would be restored  
 his throne, and that then they should reap the fruits of

their present labour. Among the companions of the monarch's exile, the marquess of Ormond, for his faithful service in Ireland and his devoted attachment to the late king, and foremost in the royal favour; while sir Edward Hyde, a counsellor to the young king, stood nearly equal in his estimation. Hyde thus describes the poverty of the court, in a letter contained in the third volume of the Clarendon papers: "I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of food; which really I wonder at. I am sure the king owes for all he hath eaten since April; and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. For six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week; but all of us owe for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman that feeds us." June 27th, 1653.

Yet in this state of poverty, Charles appeared indifferent to the privations of his friends and to his own welfare; every frivolous excuse answered the purpose of preventing his attention to business; the pursuits of pleasure, particularly his gallantries, so wholly swallowed up his time as not to allow leisure for the signing despatches and various other matters, so that Ormond and Hyde endeavoured to dissolve the degrading connexion he had formed with Lucy Walters, who had previously been the mistress of colonel Robert Sydenham. She was the mother of the celebrated duke of Monmouth, whom Charles believed himself to be the father; but the resemblance between him and sir Robert was so striking, it was supposed the colonel was his parent. At length the king was prevailed upon to separate from Lucy, and she returned to England with an annuity of four hundred pounds, but Cromwell, who was informed by his spies of all that was done in Paris, sent her back to France, where, by her fligiate manners she lost the king's affection and shortened her own life.

The two religious parties of Presbyterians and Independents were both urgent with Charles during his stay in London to adopt their creed; and, as the most likely inducement, they assured him that his interest rested on that point. The king listened to the advice of his friends Ormond and

He promised every reasonable indulgence to each party, but declared his resolution to live and die a member of that church in the defence of which his father had suffered. These proceedings were injurious to the principles of Charles, who ever after supposed that all men modelled their belief according to their interest.

When it was known that cardinal Mazarin was negotiating with Cromwell, Charles followed the advice of his friends, and left Paris; the French minister having previously promised to continue the payment of the annuity which had been settled upon him by the French king. The exiled monarch took up his residence at Cologne, where he had been two years, when the rupture between England and Spain induced him to offer himself as an ally to the latter. The Spanish cabinet hesitated respecting the acceptance of his friendship, because they had already received proposals from colonel Sexby, once the favourite, now the daring enemy of the protector. Sexby had joined the levellers, and by his secret intrigues, and the distribution of pamphlets, which he found the means to circulate, he obtained the confidence of his party, and the Spanish ministers hoped, by an union of the levellers with the royalists, to have ample vengeance on the protector. Their plans extended to assassination; for which purpose Sexby employed as an agent Syndercombe, a man of desperate courage, who had been dismissed from the army in Scotland in consequence of his political principles. This man hired lodgings near where the protector would pass, with the design of shooting him; and having bribed Took, a lifeguardsman, he learned the intended movements of Cromwell, but his attempts were always frustrated in some way or other; so that being bent on his purpose, he at length resolved on setting fire to Whitehall. It was the knowledge of this intention, which Took revealed to Cromwell, that occasioned alarm at the period the change of the government was in contemplation. Syndercome was tried and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor; but was found dead in his bed a few hours previous to the time of his expected execution.

The slowness of the Spaniards in preparing to invasion of England, ill suited the active spirit of which animated the conduct of Sexby. He sent thousands of copies of a tract which had been printed in 1648 entitled "Killing no Murder," a work that from its very title made a great impression on the public mind. It proposed three principal questions; "Whether the lord-protector be a tyrant? Whether it be lawful to do justice by killing him? and whether this, if it be lawful, will be of benefit to the Commonwealth?" and it answered the question in the affirmative. Sexby followed the book to England, where he was soon apprehended and confined in the Tower, in which place he died, probably by violence. The winner of that year Blake obtained a complete victory over the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Cadiz, but the commander lived not to receive the thanks of his country. Such ravages had the scurvy and dropsy made in his constitution, that he died in his ship, the *St. George*, as a vessel went into the harbour of Plymouth.

Blake was more than fifty years of age when he entered the military service, and he was near sixty when he took command at sea. He raised the naval glory of England to a greater height than it had ever before attained. Cromwell, who was fully sensible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense, and he was buried in Henry VIII's chapel at Westminster Abbey, but the coffin was removed to the church-yard during the succeeding reign.

Cromwell had at heart the forming a nearer connexion with France, and with that view he sent Lockhart, who had married his niece, to discuss the preliminaries of a treaty, of which the principal condition was the possession of Dunkirk.

At home the new parliament absorbed the attention of England. It was framed on the old system of the two houses of Lords and Commons. In vain did the lord-protector repeat lectures on the good effects of unanimity; equally vain were his representations of danger from a threatened invasion of the allies of Charles Stuart; dissension divided the opinions

interests of the two houses, and the members expressed satisfaction in recriminating messages to each other. And Scot, the leading members of the opposition, influence and resolution; and they, with several the army, combined to re-establish the Commonwealth without a single person as the head or the peers as a state. Cromwell was aware of the critical situation he stood, and without allowing his intention to be known he determined to dissolve the parliament; hastily he himself into his carriage he drove to the house, and went for the Commons, "They," he said, "had placed me in a high situation in which he stood: he sought it there was neither man nor woman treading on English soil who could say he did. God knew that he would have lived under a wood side, and have tended a flock rather than have undertaken the government. But, having taken it at their request, he had a right to look to them for aid and support. Yet some among them, God was his witness in violation of their oaths, were attempting to establish Commonwealth-interest in the army; some had received commissions to enlist men for Charles Stuart, and both had emissaries at that moment seeking to raise a tumult, there a rebellion, in the city. But he was bound before to prevent such disasters, and therefore," he concluded, "think it high time that an end be put to your sitting; dissolve this parliament, and let God judge between me and you."

Cromwell felt that he could depend on the fidelity of the army and therefore he treated the discontented murmurs of republicans with contempt; such of the officers as he thought to be inimical to his measures he cashiered, while the Mayor was admonished to guard the safety of the city. Were these precautions wholly groundless, since the march of Ormond was then in London; he had landed in the city at Westmarch, in the beginning of January, and by his disguise of dress and frequently changing his lodging, he had succeeded to evade the scrutiny of Cromwell's agents. He had come to England for the purpose of learning how the royalists

were disposed, and found, after conversing with men of every party, that there was a deficiency in means and in concepts; and that few or none were willing to promise their aid, until they should actually see the king in England. Charles was waiting at Ostend, for in Holland he had obtained arms and ammunition, with the money advanced to him by the king of Spain. Sir Richard Willis, one of a select few, who stood high in the confidence of Charles, had frequent interviews with Ormond in London; but Willis received from Cromwell a yearly salary to betray the secrets of his exiled monarch; and when Ormond had been a month in the metropolis, the treacherous Willis informed the lord-protector, having previously told the marquess that an order was issued for his apprehension, which caused the latter to hasten to Shoreham, from whence he got to Dieppe, and his disguise protected him from the knowledge of Lockhart and Mazarin in his way through France, he returned in safety to his royal master.

The discouraging intelligence conveyed by Ormond was followed by the destruction of the vessels intended for the expedition, and the blockading of Ostend by an English squadron. Charles relinquished all hopes of invading England till the winter, and would have visited the court of Spain in the interim, but that the cardinal Retz promised him an interest with the pope, provided that he would give him word that when he should ascend the throne of England, he should release all his catholic subjects from the penal laws.

The state of things during the winter irritated the mind of Cromwell, and urged him to fresh persecution of the Catholics; but the winter campaign placed him on the pinnacle of power at home, and shewed the excellence of his foreign policy in the possession of Dunkirk, according to his treaty with France, yet the mind of Cromwell had never experienced so disturbed a state; the cares of government oppressed his thoughts by day, and the horrors of assassination haunted his dreams by night: indisposition affected his nerves, domestic affliction undermined his sinking constitution; more than all, the exhausted state of his treasury gave him the most poignant uneasiness: he was in arrears to the

he had relied on that for support, he was apprehensive that the loss of it might induce them to accept the overtures of his enemies.

The death of Elizabeth Claypole, the favourite child of Cromwell, filled up the measure of his affliction; he survived her only a few weeks. During his last illness, a strange sort of enthusiasm led him to believe his position secure, and he prayed for his people, saying, "I am in the hands of thee through thy grace, and may and will do thee service for thy people. Thou hast made me a mean instrument to do them some good and thee service. Many of them put too high a value upon me, though others would be content with my death. Lord, however thou disposest of me, command them to go on to do good for them. Teach those who look upon thee as thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself, than such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor man, for they are thy people too\*."

Cromwell died on the 3rd of September, 1658. Such confidence did his friends entertain of his sanctity, that Thurloe announced the event to the deputy of Ireland: "He is now in heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and supported by the wings of the prayers of the saints." His conduct was variously portrayed. All have agreed that he made Cromwellism the key-stone by which he ascended the step to the throne, and some have thought that he dissembled in religion, and was sincere in politics; but when the reader reflects that religious enthusiasm had taken hold of his mind before he entered the warfare between Charles and his parliament, and that the discipline of the army was such at that period, that every breach of morality was severely punished, and that religious worship accompanied every act of military duty, he will not be surprised to find that piety, which in an inherent quality, should have strengthened when it was made a successful auxiliary in forwarding the purposes of the revolution.

Cromwell left two sons by his wife, Elizabeth Bouchier, and Henry; but the public felt no certainty regard-

\* LINGARD, vol. ii. p. 354.



reprobating the conduct of individuals who had sent for slaves to the West India planters. A statement in the Clarendon papers of seventy individuals who were apprehended on account of Salisbury rising; after imprisonment those persons were sold at Barbadoes "1,550 pounds' weight of sugar a-piece, more or less according to their abilities for labour."

Lord Falconberg, who was married to the protector with his friends, formed a military council at Whitehall; they planned how to support the ascendancy of Richard's army; and Fleetwood consulted with his friends at Fleetwood-house, how they should limit his authority with the compass allowed to a civil magistrate: but a third party, more formidable in number, and more important in proceedings, assembled at St. James's, under the influence of Lambert, and the open direction of Desborough. This led to the establishment of a general council of officers; they soon determined that the parliament should be dissolved. The proposal was made to the protector by Desborough; its dissolution was proclaimed the same day. The result proved to be against the interest of Richard. Each party maintained its own opinion as to the form of a new government; the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion, the disposition of the military in Scotland and Ireland were unknown, the royalists were employed in turning the present anarchy to the advantage of Charles.

At length it was agreed to recall the long parliament; the military favoured this project: in their council they passed a resolution which shut out all who had not subscribed to the engagement; and seventy members at last assembled. Received from their opponents the name of the "Rump." Henry Cromwell resigned his office in Ireland, and retired to Swinney abbey, in Cambridgeshire, where he lived till his death in 1674. As the members had been restored to power by the influence of the army, the council soon found employment: they forwarded to the house a petition containing fifteen demands, which had this curious superscription: "things which they had on their minds, when they



parliament." Richard, who still remained at White-  
; desired to remove elsewhere, and on his compliance  
; request, his private debts were transferred to the  
; but not paid ; he received a present of 2000*l.*, and a  
; come of 10,000*l.* was voted to him, but it was never  
; l. One of the fifteen articles, above alluded to,  
; t Fleetwood should have the command of the land

while Charles was watchful of all that was passing ;  
first of August was fixed for the general rising of the

The king had reached the coast of Bretagne, and  
; ting in disguise an opportunity to get to England ;  
; er, the duke of York, purposed crossing from Boulogne  
; ast of Kent, where his several friends were prepared to  
; ; but the traitor Willis, whom Charles still supposed  
; o his cause, had given every information relative to  
; tions of the royalists, to the secretary Thurloe, and in  
; alone was the royal standard unfurled, under the com-  
; air George Booth, who got possession of the city of  
; but was soon expelled by the arrival of a strong force  
; y Lambert, who took three hundred of them prisoners.  
; of Derby was taken in the disguise of a servant, and  
; ho was riding on a pillion in female attire, was dis-  
; by his awkward manner of getting off the horse.  
; who was at Rochelle, on hearing the sad intelligence,  
; d to Fuentarabia. Lambert was rewarded by the  
; at with the sum of 1000*l.*, but his success had raised  
; ous fears, for they suspected that he might act the  
; a Fleetwood, which had been acted before by Oliver.  
; l with the lord-general Fairfax. This temporary in-  
; a was succeeded by many fruitless efforts of the  
; at to subdue the power of the army, and it was at-  
; greed that a council of officers should provide for the  
; ace ; and that a new form of government should be  
; l to a new parliament, and that of the rump was :

the party at Wallingford-house found themselves  
; e possessed of the power to form a government.

after their own system. Fleetwood received the office of commander-in-chief, Lambert was made general of the forces of Great Britain, and those officers who refused their services were removed. A feeble attempt was made to restore Richard Cromwell to the protectorate, but he retired from the court to Hampton-court, from which place, at the restoration of Charles, he fled to the continent to avoid his creditors, whom at the moment he was in the possession of power, the state had promised to pay. Richard remained a voluntary exile nearly twenty years, and then returned to the neighbourhood of Cheshunt, where he died in 1713, at the advanced age of eighty-six.

The people of England were weary of change; the bulk of them wished for the restoration of their former line of monarchs, and many of the officers had encouraged Charles with the offer of their services; but of all the political leaders the conduct of Monk was the most perplexing. He had commanded the forces in Scotland from the time that Cromwell had pursued Charles to Worcester. There he was employed in the duties of his station without any apparent concern for the success of any party. On no occasion did he permit an avowal of his sentiments to pass his lips, so that George Monk was accounted to be a plain soldier, who would obey orders, and see that his own were obeyed. Every party claimed him as their adherent; Charles had made him many offers, and he listened to his agents patiently, but silently. At the time that Richard was deposed, the republicans were suspicious of Monk, and Fleetwood provoked his revenge by exchanging many of his officers for creatures of his own. This affront roused Monk, and he resolved to act openly as the "assertor of the ancient laws and liberties of his country." The first success of his measures caused a return of the republican parliament. Fleetwood complained that "the Lord had spit in his face," and endeavoured to disarm his enemies by the submissive surrender of his office.

Lord Fairfax joined Monk, who had crossed the Tweed, and together they proceeded to York, the gates of which were opened to them by the cavaliers who were within.

In January, 1660, we find Monk receiving the parliament at the bar of their house. On being sworn to abjure the house of Stuart, he replied that it was his conscience to swear never to acquiesce in that violence might possibly ordain. He spoke of the oath he had already given of his attachment to the parliament, and professed himself ready to give further proof if called upon. This declaration was soon put to the test: the general received an order at midnight, to arrest all citizens in the city, and to remove the posts and rails which had lately been fixed in the streets, with the portcullises; meantime a petition from Praise-God Barebone was presented, praying that no man might be employed, or hold any public office, who refused to renounce the pretensions of Charles Stuart, or any other single

person. Barebone, aware that this petition was meant for him, went to the commons, and having there summoned a common-council, informed the citizens that the man who the day before had acted against them by the order of others, was now, by his own choice, to unite his fortune with theirs, and their assistance to obtain a full and free parliament. At the announcement the people testified the fullest joy, and in their frolics to celebrate the event, they "roasted the

royalist party had now the ascendant in the house; and entered into an engagement not to interfere in the future; but the motives of Monk's conduct were so mysterious, that he still continued to be the subject of conjectures. After the assembling of a new parliament, he received a letter from the king; and having read it with care, observed, that this was the first time that he could acknowledge his devotion to the cause of loyalty, but that profound secrecy was still necessary. Monk then wrote to the king to send him a conciliatory letter

fastening a rump on a spit, and roasting it in various parts of the city, which was continued for several years after.

which, at a suitable period, he could lay before the parliament.

The messenger was received most joyfully by Charles at his return. The king was at Brussels, and having taken the advice of his friends Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, he sent off dispatches to England, containing letters to each of the houses of parliament, one to Monk and the army, another to Montagu and the navy, and a fifth to the lord mayor and the city; these were dated Breda, to which place Charles had removed by the advice of general Monk.

While these matters were preparing, the "convention parliament" (so it was called) assembled; of these the cavaliers formed the majority. On the arrival of Grenville, the messenger from Breda, besides the letters with which he was charged, he brought a declaration which contained a free and general pardon; it declared liberty of conscience, and "that no man should be disquieted for difference of opinion in matters of religion, which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom." It alluded to the mode of securing purchased lands to their present possessors, and promised the payment of arrears due to the army, as also the retaining the officers and men, upon the same conditions as they were now engaged. On the confidence placed in this royal charter, Charles was allowed to ascend the throne of his fathers. They sent money to him, to his brother York, and to the duke of Gloucester, and his succession was proclaimed as having commenced on the day of his father's death.

Hale, the celebrated lawyer, proposed inquiry regarding former concessions, and Prynne spoke of coming to a right understanding on certain claims, hitherto the subjects of controversy between the parliament and the crown. Monk objected to this proceeding, and reminded them, that the king would bring no army with him, and would be as much at their mercy in Westminster as he was in Breda; upon which the advocates for inquiry yielded to the number of their opponents.

Monk, with the principal of the English nobility, met the

Dover. Charles embraced him as his benefactor, and went with him into the carriage. On Blackheath the king was received by the army in battle array; in St. James's fields a handsome collation had been prepared under the mayor and aldermen, of which his majesty partook. Such was the general joy testified on that occasion, that at the conclusion of the day, the king observed to one of his attendants, "It must surely have been my fault that I did not do so before; for I have met with no one to-day who did not attest that he always wished for my restoration."

It has ever been regretted that Monk, whose foresight and sagacity effected the peaceful return of Charles, should not have embraced that opportunity to establish a compact, which should have determined the legal rights of the crown, and secured against any future encroachment the freedom of the people. By this negligence, or of perfidy, the way was still left open for a second revolution, in the end, led to another revolution, the result of which excluded the Stuarts from the government of these

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## CHAPTER XV.

### CHARLES II.

Charles was in his thirtieth year at the time the people joyfully restored to him the sovereignty without the imposition of any new limitations to the royal prerogative. He had an excellent constitution, a manly figure, a graceful countenance, many personal accomplishments, and a great variety of mental abilities. Ten years spent in exile and adversity, it was expected, would have taught him moderation; but his determined desire to govern without controul, and a total prodigality of disposition, aided by his convivial habits and his ready wit, led him to a free indulgence in the pleasures of youth, and the intemperance of appetite. His excesses were contagious, and debauchery and irreligion soon

became the characteristics of his court, and in the end he won him the affections of his subjects.

The return of Charles was hailed by all parties as a prelude to peace and prosperity; the frequent changes which had latterly taken place in the system of governing had wearied the people, and everywhere public rejoicings manifested the feelings of triumph experienced throughout England on their return to the dominion of monarchy. The high conduct shewed that he was fully aware of the dangers that surrounded him; he formed a strong resolution to devote his time and attention to the business of the state, so that his ministers perceived an entire change in his habits; but soon the difficulties that assailed him from the numerous claims of the old royalists, and the petitions of his adherents, made him weary of the restraint which he had imposed upon himself; and he returned, as a reward, to the society of the gay and the dissolute. His council consisted of his two brothers, James and Henry, and the four councillors who enjoyed his confidence during his exile, with the lord-general, and a few more of his friends, to which was added all the surviving members of his late father's council. These persons had professed opposite principles, and had maintained different interests, and therefore were to Charles objects of distrust. In the first moments of national enthusiasm, the parliament was quiescent to the wishes of the monarch. Having persuaded themselves that the calamities of the last reign had proceeded from the scanty provision for the support of royalty, and from the adoption of ill-considered measures to supply that deficiency, they raised the revenue of the crown to 1,200,000*l.*, and insured the payment by perpetuating the tax of excise which had been originally levied for the purpose of carrying on the war against the king, with an understanding that it should cease with the necessity.

The keeping up of the revolutionary army became a source of uneasiness to the king and to his ministers, nor did they feel secure until it was disbanded. The bill of indemnity occupied the attention of the council. In the debate

by Charles at Breda, a general pardon was promised, subject to such exceptions as should be suggested by the council, and these were the cause of much controversy between the lords and the commons; the spirit of revenge was actively employed, and numerous acts of injustice were perpetrated. The bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, taken out of their coffins, drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, hung at the three corners of the gallows—afterwards their heads were cut off, and fixed on the front of Westminster.

No relief was granted to those persons who had been deprived of their property during the commonwealth, or who disposed of their estates to relieve the pecuniary wants of the king. The arrangement of ecclesiastical property proved the most difficult point of all, and terminated rather in a promise of future consideration than in any decisive measures.

The ceremony of coronation was performed with the splendour usual on former occasions, and was followed with great rejoicings.

Charles had previously called a new parliament, which the chancellor, who had been created earl of Clarendon, found means to model after his own will. He communicated the secret wishes of the cabinet to a few of the most influential members, and they instructed their colleagues how it was desired they should act; with his force organized, the minister had little difficulty in overcoming his opponents. But nothing was more sudden and more conspicuous than the change in public morals; from the time that the state ceased to be guided by men who revered the forms of godliness, vice walked forth without disguise; no longer concealed by the assumed garb of piety, she appeared without restraint, and was received as a welcome visitor; the affectation of decorum was exchanged for a fondness of pleasure and revelry, and the court of Charles was distinguished in voluptuousness with that of his contemporary.

**XIV.** An interruption to their course of amusements was occasioned by the death of the king's youngest brother, the duke of Gloucester, who died of the small pox in the sixth year of his age. In him were united the good qualities of both his brothers, the sound judgment and quick

perception of Charles, with the vigour and application of the duke of York. The latter personage became about the same time the subject of general conversation. When in 1659 his royal highness was at the court of his sister, the princess of Orange, he became attached to Anne Hyde, maid of honour to the princess, and daughter of the chancellor. Having promised her marriage, she followed him to England when he quitted the Hague with his brother, and was induced, in consequence of her situation, to marry according to the rite of the church of England; for he overcame his brother's reluctance by his passionate representations. His mother and sister severely condemned the conduct of James, and refused to admit the object of his choice into their society; the chancellor pretended to feel uneasy, and advised the king to send the presumptuous lady to the Tower, while he confined her to the solitude of her chamber, and her more indulgent mother admitted the prince to converse in the hours of her captivity. Meanwhile a person was found, Charles Berkeley, who on a promise of further fortune, made a declaration that Anne Hyde had been his mistress, and brought forward several witnesses to prove her loose behaviour. Certain learned divines assured the king that no private contract was valid that had not the previous consent of the king. James wavered in his opinion, and ceased to visit or to regard Anne as his lawful wife. During the period of labour, Dr. Morley adjured Anne, in the name of the living God, to speak the truth, before the judges who attended her by order of the king; and she replied that the duke of York was the father of her child, that they had been contracted to each other in the presence of witnesses, and that she had always been faithful to his bed. Her assertions, and the birth of the child, revived the affection of James; he examined Berkeley, and feeling ashamed that he should have been imposed upon, (for the man confessed that the charges he had made against her were false,) he resolved on doing her justice. He visited her at her house, and, in the presence of her accusers, acknowledged her for his duchess. In the following year she was



ed at court by the queen mother. The example of  
 was soon after followed by the marriage of the king,  
 gave such scandal by his amours, that his ministers  
 me very urgent in advising his majesty to select a con-  
 ; and while he was endeavouring to fix his wavering af-  
 ons on a suitable alliance, the Portuguese ambassador  
 ted him with a proposal of marriage with Donna  
 erina, sister to the king of Portugal. This was done at  
 suggestion of the French monarch, who thought by this  
 nce he should secure a channel by which he could send  
 to Portugal without provoking the hostility of Spain;  
 Henrietta, the youngest sister of Charles, had married  
 lip the brother of Louis, which caused the latter to  
 eve that England would act in the interest of France.  
 th the princess Caterina was offered a dower of five hun-  
 id thousand pounds, with the possession of Tangier and  
 mbay, and a free trade to Portugal and the Portuguese  
 nies. An offer which was every way so advantageous to  
 gland, met with the approbation of all but one fair lady,  
 rbara, the daughter of viscount Grandison, whose beauty  
 le a great impression on Charles on the day he entered  
 capital; and she maintained an influence over his  
 d for several years afterwards. With this lady  
 rles spent part of every day; he created her husband  
 gentleman of the name of Palmer) earl of Castlemain in  
 and, and bestowed upon her many costly presents. As  
 arrival of the Infanta advanced, the king redoubled his  
 ions to his mistress; he solemnly promised to appoint  
 dy of the bedchamber to his queen, and the birth of a  
 confirmed the lady Barbara's influence over her royal  
 hearing that the princess Caterina had arrived at  
 head, the king left the house of Castlemain to meet her,  
 professed himself much gratified with her appearance.  
 was not devoid of beauty; and as she possessed good  
 e and an amiable temper, there seemed every chance of  
 iness. For some days the royal pair lived in the greatest  
 gal felicity, but the king soon shewed that he meant not

to disappoint his favoured mistress. Taking the opportunity of being surrounded by a full court, he presented "the lady," as she was called, to the queen, who so far commanded her feelings for the moment as to receive her graciously; but a few minutes the queen's eyes filled with tears, the blood gushed from her nose, and she was conveyed to her own apartment in a fit. The king considered the queen's conduct offensive; spoke of his determination never to submit to her whims; and declared himself bound to make Castlemaine reparation. His dissolute companions encouraged his resolutions, but Ormond and Clarendon remonstrated with the king on the cruelty of such conduct, with what success, the following extract, copied from Lingard, vol. 2, Note A, will shew.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CHARLES II. TO THE  
CHANCELLOR.

"Now I am on this matter, I thinke it necessary to give you a little good counsell in it, least you may thinke that by making a further stirr in the businesse, you may divert me from my resolution, which all the world shall never do; and I wish I may be unhappy in this world and the world to come, if I faile in the least degree of what I have resolved, which is of making my lady Castlemaine my wive's bedchamber, and whosoever I finde use any endeavour to hinder this resolution of myne (excepte it be only myselfe) I will be his enemy to the last moment of my life. You know how true a friend I have been to you. If you will oblige me eternally, make this businesse as easy to you as you can, of what opinion soever you are of; for I am resolved to go through with this matter, let what will come of it, which again I solemnly swear before Almighty God. Therefore, if you desire to have the countenance and friendship, medle no more with this businesse, or beat down all force and scandalous reports, and to what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in. Whosoever I find to be my lady Castlemaine's enemy in this matter, I do promise upon my word to be his enemy."

"**Give this letter to my lord lieutenant both a minde to oblige me, carry this matter."**

the Catherine to accede to a refusal which drew at length, overcome tired upon herself the importunities of whom she treated with as in public. The mistress her rival; the king was a daily and entertainments, and she maintained authority over his mind, and influenced him in movements; whilst the queen abstained from all in matters of state, and by her continual endearment to her husband, her meek forbearance, and her manner, gained a daily increase of public esteem. conferred on his mistress the rank of duchess of for herself, with remainder to Charles and George sons by the king.

pect to Scotland and Ireland at this period, a parliament summoned in the former kingdom, which, from intoxication of Middleton, the lord commissioner, ends, went by the name of the "drunken parliament," however, annulled the proceedings of the former ones, which recissory act was followed by the death of Argyle and others, and by the restoration of the English forces, which hitherto had kept the nation in awe, were recalled, so that the nation recovered independence.

and a new race of proprietors had arisen, soldiers and adventurers, who had taken advantage of the confused state of the country, to share the lands of the natives among themselves.

Here also episcopacy was restored, but the restoration of the landed property was not easily accomplished, and the *settled* property was not easily accomplished, and even *settlement* excluded from compensation, and even

to disappoint his favoured mistress. Taking being surrounded by a full court, he presented as she was called, to the queen, who so far feelings for the moment as to receive her grace a few minutes the queen's eyes filled with gushed from her nose, and she was convulsed in a fit. The king considered the offensive; spoke of his determination never to yield to her whims; and declared himself bound to reparation. His dissolute companions and resolutions, but Ormond and Clarendon reproved the king on the cruelty of such conduct, and the following extract, copied from I Note A, will shew.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CHARLES I  
CHANCELLOR.

“ Now I am on this matter, I think I will give you a little good counsell in it, least that by making a further stirr in the businesse I may divert me from my resolution, which all men never do; and I wish I may be unhappy in the world to come, if I faile in the least of what I have resolved, which is of making my lady my wife's bedchamber, and whosoever I find your to hinder this resolution of myne (except myselfe) I will be his enemy to the last moment. You know how true a friend I have been to you, and will oblige me eternally, make this businesse as you can, of what opinion soever you are. I am resolved to go through with this matter, let what will come of it, which again I solemnly swear before God. Therefore, if you desire to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this businesse, but beat down all force and scandalous reports, and what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in. Whosoever I find to be my lady Castlemaine's enemy, I do promise upon my word to be his enemy to the last moment.”

ive. You may shew this letter to my lord lieutenant (and), and if you have both a minde to oblige me, carry yourselves like friends to me in this matter."

London was so mean as to advise Catherine to accede to the king's wishes; but she persisted in a refusal which drew her many severe mortifications. At length, overcome and wearied by a repetition of insults poured upon herself and her friends, the queen yielded to the importunities of the king, and received Castlemain, whom she treated with respect in private as well as in public. The mistress of the king's heart triumphed over her rival; the king was a daily guest at her suppers and entertainments, and she maintained her previous authority over his mind, and influenced him in his political movements; whilst the queen abstained from all interference in matters of state, and by her continual endeavour to please her husband, her meek forbearance, and her modest manner, gained a daily increase of public esteem. The king conferred on his mistress the rank of duchess of Devonshire for herself, with remainder to Charles and George, his sons by the king.

In respect to Scotland and Ireland at this period, a parliament was summoned in the former kingdom, which, from habitual intoxication of Middleton, the lord commissioner, and his friends, went by the name of the "drunken parliament." That parliament, however, annulled the proceedings of the former ones, which recissory act was followed by the death of Argyle and others, and by the restoration of the bishops. The English forces, which hitherto had kept Scotland in awe, were recalled, so that the nation recovered its independence.

In Ireland a new race of proprietors had arisen, soldiers and adventurers, who had taken advantage of the confusion of the country, to share the lands of the natives among themselves. Here also episcopacy was restored, but the reversion of the landed property was not easily accomplished, and the final settlement excluded from compensation, and even

debarred from national rights, the officers who followed the royal fortune abroad, as also three thousand Catholics, who had taken no share in the rebellion: an act of injustice which had for its apology the necessity of quieting the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.

In the year 1675, the forfeited lands in Ireland were distributed in the following manner, according to an extract from one belonging to Shiffeld Grace, esq.:—

#### GRANTED TO THE ENGLISH.

	Stat. Ann.
Adventurers . . . . .	787,335
Soldiers . . . . .	2,321,335
Forty-nine officers . . . . .	454,335
Royal highness duke of York . . . . .	160,335
Provisors . . . . .	477,335
Duke of Ormond and Col. Butler's lands . . . . .	257,335
Bishops' augmentations . . . . .	31,335
	<hr/>
	4,500,000

#### GRANTED OR DISPOSED OF TO THE IRISH.

	Stat. Ann.
Decrees of Innocence . . . . .	1,174,335
Provisors . . . . .	491,335
King's letters of restitution . . . . .	46,335
Nominees in possession . . . . .	68,335
Transplantation . . . . .	541,530
	<hr/>
	2,322,000

The forty-nine officers are those who claimed and received service under the king before 1649. The duke of York received a grant of all the lands held by the regicides who had been attainted. Provisors were persons in whose favour provisoes had been made in the acts. Nominees were Catholics named by the king to be restored to their houses and two thousand acres contiguous. Transplantation refers to the Catholics whom Cromwell forced from their lands, and settled in Connaught.

With the advantages accruing from Charles's marriage with *infanta* of Portugal, difficulties also had arisen. Her *dowry* had amounted in value to three hundred and fifty *thousand* pounds, which had afforded relief to the most pressing *of* the king's wants; but the expenses, in granting protection to Portugal, and attending the expedition sent to take possession of Bombay, brought other pecuniary embarrassments on Charles, with the acquiescence of his council, sold the crown for five millions of livres to the French king: an act which caused general dissatisfaction to his subjects, who took offence at saying he had done this imprudent deed to gratify the rapacity of his extravagant mistress, and that he had advised it in consequence of a bribe from her. The latter slander was confirmed in the public belief by the erection of a handsome mansion for the residence of the king and his family, to which was given the name of White-house.

Charles was next involved in disputes with his council concerning the declaration of "indulgence to tender consciences," expressed at Breda. Two years had now elapsed, and petitions from Presbyterians, Independents, and Roman Catholics, claimed the benefit of that declaration. The leading members of the council, to whom the case was referred, were divided against the indulgence. The ministers Robartes and Howard contended that the king, by virtue of his supremacy, had the right of suspending penal laws in matters of religion. Charles promised to obtain from his parliament an act to enable him to exercise with more satisfaction the power of dispensing; which he conceived to be inherent in the crown. A bill was presented, and suffered to remain unnoticed, it being evident the members were against indulgence, from a deep-seated fear of the Catholics. Charles charged the bishops with ingratitude and bigotry; he no longer received them with the usual marks of his former esteem, and the court treated their sermons with ridicule.

To the king's desire to shelter from the severity of the penal laws those Catholics who had served the royal cause, both Houses joined in an address praying for a proclamation, to

banish the Catholic priests from England. To this the king, with a slight hesitation, yielded; and the session closed with another address to put in execution all the penal laws existing against Catholics, and sectarians of every denomination. In the following year a new act was brought forward, called the conventicle act, which prohibited any number above five, who were not of the family, from meeting for religious exercises. This system of intolerance, so opposite to the conditions of the solemn engagement offered by Charles from Breda, and accepted by his people, was chiefly attributable to the bigotry of the ministers, who allowed themselves to be influenced by the prejudices and resentments of the parliament: neither can Charles be exonerated from a share of the injustice thus committed.

Charles had now possessed the throne four years, and during that time gallantry had formed his principal business; for, though his abilities were good, his love of pleasure rendered them inactive, and with a correct judgment and a large store of general and useful knowledge, he was destitute of firmness, and wanted the necessary resolution to execute the purposes which his natural benevolence suggested. The closest affection cemented the intimacy between the king and the duke of York, though their characters were quite opposite: the king scattered his money profusely, when he was inconvenienced by the pressure of his debts; James measured his expenses within the amount of his income. With his associates the king was familiar and jocular; while attending to the dignity of rank gave to the duke's manner a staidness that was repulsive to his dependents. In private life the king was loved but by few, but he was respected by all; and he was always ready to yield obedience to his brother.

At this period a complaint from the merchants, that they had sustained serious injuries by the non-performance of the English treaty with the Dutch, led Charles to a declaration of war against the states of Holland. The step in itself was an imprudent one; but he sent out a fleet, such as England had never before witnessed: he had a knowledge of shipbuilding, and with his brother often superintended the preparation of the Gunfleet. The duke of York, as high admiral, united to



on board the Royal Charles, and proceeded with ninety-ships of the line and four fire-ships to the coast of Hol.

At the king's suggestion, that something of the order d be observed in naval as in military engagements, the rved mode of fighting in a line and regular form of battle ow used, and their first engagement, on the 3rd of June,

proved victorious. The news of that victory arrived in on when its inhabitants were suffering under the most e of human calamities. The plague had somehow ap- in a few solitary instances during the winter; but in eading May the evil poured itself forth from the centre of fles's to all the surrounding parishes. The terror of its

sing influence caused the nobility to leave their houses; all who had the power to go, fled to preserve their until the neighbouring townships rose to check further

ation, and formed a barrier round the city. Trade was stand, families were dispersed, forty thousand servants left without a home; and a much greater number of as were without the means of employment. In this

rent state of distress, the king subscribed a weekly sum e thousand pounds, the city six hundred pounds; the dowager, lord Craven, the archbishop of Canterbury,

e mayor of London, each contributed handsomely to- the relief of the sufferers; but such amazing progress is cruel enemy make, that by the end of June recourse

necessarily had to more rigid measures. In the day, s were always on the watch to withdraw from view the of those who perished in the streets; during the night

aking of a bell announced the pest-cart making its to receive the victims of the departed day. No coffins prepared, no funeral service was read, no person was d to attend the body, which, being taken to the nearest

ry, the cart shot its burden into one common grave. a of the strongest minds felt their nerves shake at the of this universal woe around them; tales the most im- ple were circulated, and believed; numbers fancied they sword of flame extending from Westminster to the One fanatic in a state of nudity walked through the

city, bearing on his head a pan of burning coals, and denouncing the judgments of God on its sinful inhabitants; another, assuming the character of Jonah, proclaimed as he passed, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed;" and a third might be met, sometimes by day, sometimes by night, advancing with a hurried step, and exclaiming with a deep sepulchral voice, "Oh the great dreadful God!"

London presented a wide and heart-rending scene of misery and desolation. Rows of houses stood tenantless, and open to the winds; others, in almost equal numbers, exhibited the red cross, the signal that the plague was within, flaming on the doors. The chief thoroughfares, so lately trodden by the feet of thousands, were overgrown with grass. The individuals who ventured abroad walked in the middle, and when they met, declined on opposite sides, to avoid the contact of each other.

September came, and the heat of the atmosphere began to abate; the high winds, which usually accompany the vernal equinox, cooled and purified the air; the fever, though equally contagious, assumed a less malignant form, and its ravages were necessarily more confined from the diminution of the population on which it had hitherto fed. The weekly burials successively decreased from thousands to hundreds, and in the beginning of December, seventy-three persons were pronounced clear of the disease. The emigrants returned in crowds, and resumed their usual occupations; the court was again fixed at Whitehall, and though more than a hundred thousand inhabitants of the metropolis had perished in a short time the chasm seemed to be filled up.

The historian Lingard observes that, during the pestilence, many of the orthodox clergy in the metropolis persisted, with the most laudable constancy, in the discharge of their duties, though many sought their own security in the country; and the presbyterian ministers who had been ejected seized the opportunity to ascend the vacant pulpits, and with the most exemplary self-devotion braved the perils of death to minister comfort to their suffering brethren. These men were afterwards

ented as having, at that awful season, disseminated the  
 lies of sedition, by stating the plague to have been a  
 scourge of Providence to punish their own expulsion  
 from the churches, and the licentious manners of the sovereign  
 and the court. These statements served as a pretext to put  
 into operation the "five mile act," which fixed a fine of 40*l.* on  
 any nonconformist minister, who should come within five  
 miles of any town sending members to parliament, or of any  
 place in which he had exercised his ministry. The result of  
 this oppressive measure was, that the objects of suspicion  
 were obliged to secure themselves by retiring to a remote  
 place where they supported themselves by manual labour and  
 occasional donations which were sent to them.

Wit, who had married the daughter of the Dutch  
 Admiral De Ruyter, possessed all the qualities of a great  
 commander, united with the abilities of an able statesman.  
 Expert in the art of intrigue, his policy aimed to strengthen  
 the country by the protection of the king of France, and Louis  
 was reluctant to become the friendly ally of Holland ;  
 but, as, under the pretence of keeping off the English, he  
 had assembled troops to that part of the coast, which would  
 give him an opportunity to possess himself of Flanders. In  
 consequence of this resolution, Charles was informed that  
 if he made a hasty peace, the French king must take  
 up the war against him, which message Charles treated  
 with expressions of bold defiance.

The war with Holland was carried on vigorously ; the duke  
 of Marlborough was joined with prince Rupert in the command  
 of the fleet : but the laurels he had won, as General Monk,  
 forfeited in his first hasty engagement with the Dutch,  
 and in the sequel the English were called victorious. At  
 length the fleet was driven by a storm into St. Helen's, a  
 pier first out in Pudding-lane, by which dreadful accident the  
 space from the Tower to the Temple was reduced to

It began on Sunday evening, the 2d of September,  
 the wind did not abate until Wednesday evening. During  
 this conflagration king Charles displayed an energy of mind  
 and courage, of which his friends had not supposed him capable.

He and his brother were seen wherever the danger was greatest. He directed the movements of the workmen, and rewarded their exertions with his own hand; he ordered provisions to be carried to the families in the fields, and sent patrols of his guards to prevent robbery. The duke of York saved the church of the Temple by destroying the contiguous buildings, and the king adopted the same mode to save Whitehall and Westminster abbey. Eighty-nine churches, including St. Paul's, with thirteen thousand two hundred houses, were consumed. When the reader is informed that this fire began in a bakehouse, and that the adjacent buildings were all built of wood, with pitched roofs, and filled with stores of combustible articles used in the equipment of shipping, he cannot wonder that, aided by a violent wind, the fire should spread quickly. But in that day religious prejudices warped the minds of the people, and they listened eagerly to the malicious reports that were circulated; and as popery was then the alleged object on which slander could rest her suspicions, on the monument which perpetuates this sad event it stands recorded, from the pen of Dr. Thomas Gale, afterwards dean of York, that "the burning of this Protestant city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction." Next to the guilt of him who perpetrates so atrocious crime, is the guilt of those who charge it on the innocent.

The gloom which succeeded this disaster was apparent in the speeches of the members in the house of Commons, and the public discontent found a vent in framing petitions against the Catholics. The duke of Buckingham, and the growing dissatisfaction against the court party, by relating instances of the royal extravagance, and the immorality of the king. A new cause of dissension appeared in the discussion respecting the agricultural interest, which induced the passing of a bill to extend the former act for preventing the importation of Irish cattle, to the prohibition of salt beef, bacon, and pork; and a bill was passed, appointing commissioners to audit the public accounts, in consequence of certain reports that the monies levied for carrying on the war had been

purposes. A threat of impeachment against the Earl of Castlemain made the king act as if he were in the bill;—it passed, but nothing more was done, as it was intended to remain unnoticed.

A rebellion in Scotland gave fresh grounds of alarm, and that was no sooner suppressed than a greater apprehended in the exhausted state of the treasury; increased by the difficulty of procuring loans, besides the losses sustained by the plague and the fire. In the midst of these embarrassments, the king imprudently sent out the fleet to lay up, which gave to De Wit the opportunity of exercising the spirit of revenge, with which he threatened the English when they fired the Dutch ships laden from the Baltic; and taking advantage of a truce at Breda, where the different powers were engaged in settling their various interests, De Wit, with De Ruyter, and others, proceeded with seventy sail to the buoy off

Their success in being able to ride triumphantly into the Scheldt, where they destroyed three first-rates, the Royal Oak, and the London, filled the breast of the king with regret; and the disgrace sunk deep into the hearts of his subjects. Soon after this event, three treaties of peace were signed by the powers of Holland, France, and England, put a stop to further hostilities, at a period when Louis made great progress in the conquest of Flanders under his able general Turenne. His success was followed by a man, named "Brewer," with about fifty Walloons, who brought and dyed fine woollen cloths, to migrate to a circumstance that proved highly beneficial to this country as they instructed our people to make and dye fine cloths cheaper by forty per cent. than they had done

The peace did not restore the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. The minister, Clarendon, a man of superior talents, and firm integrity, that he maintained his own opinion, opposed to that of the king, had long been disfavoured by the royal favour. He was generally disliked by the court, and the cabals of the duke of Buckingham sent

their complaints to his majesty through his favoured mistress Castlemain, who had long entertained a personal dislike to Clarendon, and raised by her interest his opponent, sir Henry Bennet, who was created lord Arlington. The king finding that every failure of success was attributed to the pernicious counsel of his minister, was content, from his natural intolerance, to satisfy their wishes by sending him from court, and informed him, through the duke of York, that he was expected to resign. Clarendon, who felt conscious of his own integrity, waited on the king to tell him he was prepared by his innocence to brave the storm; and that, as his offer to resign might be construed into a feeling of guilt, he should not do it, and requested of his majesty not to regard the suggestions of lady castlemain, who was an angry and vindictive woman. The influence of the offended "lady" outweighed that of the duke of York, who pleaded strongly for his father-in-law. The chancellor was required to give up the great seal, and was soon after impeached of high treason by the Commons.

Nothing could be more informal than the proceedings on that occasion. The duke of York was then ill of the small-pox, but he commissioned his friends to support and protect Clarendon. After some animated debate, the Lords decided that the accused should not be committed, as no specific charge was contained in the impeachment.

The Commons were offended at the decision of the upper house, and the king in a moment of great perplexity proposed to his former friend that he should leave the kingdom voluntarily. This step was considered by Clarendon so derogatory to his honour, that no persuasion could induce him to adopt it. Charles shewed an aversion to the ex-minister, and rumour spoke openly of the king's anger, and stated that he meant to punish Clarendon for thwarting his amour with Miss Stewart. This lady was the daughter of Walter, son of John Blantyre, a woman of great beauty, whom the king intended that Castlemain should invite to her suppers, otherwise his majesty would not enter her house. Miss Stewart, to rid herself, she said, from the duke of Richmond, to rid herself, she said, from the

of the royal lover. Clarendon persisting in the conduct best suited to shew his innocence of the charge against him, received an order from the king to leave the kingdom. He obeyed, leaving behind him a vindication of his character, which was burnt by the king's man; nor were the Commons satisfied until an act of parliament subjecting him to undergo punishment of high treason, should he return to England.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

### CHARLES II. (CONCLUDED.)

binet was called, in the language of the time, the *cabal*, from the initials of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, and Lauderdale, who formed his secret council, by whose decision the final arrangements were made previous to their being presented to the whole in parliament. At this time the eyes of Europe were directed to the affairs of England. Pope Clement IX., from a feeling of pity for Philip II., the young king of Spain, offered him assistance, which Louis, as did also the states of Holland; a treaty of peace was signed which gave satisfaction to all the powers. In the parliament the public business was interrupted by a violent dispute between the two houses, in the case of Skinner, a private trader, who had petitioned the king in council his complaint of injury done to the East India company, and in the settling of which the Commons complained that the Lords encroached on their rights, which the dispute continued during that whole

year proved the most tranquil of this reign. The *trade* returned into its former channels, with the *peace*, would have hushed the murmurs of discontent, but the licentious manners of the court were in

opposition to the decencies of life. Buckingham lived in open adultery with lady Shrewsbury, who was said to have hid the duke's horse, in the dress of a page, while he fought a duel with her husband and mortally wounded him. When Buckingham took this lady home to his house, his daughter observed, "It was not for her and his mistress to live together," upon which he answered, "Why, so I have been living, madam, and therefore have ordered your coach to carry you to your father's." Charles laughed at these matters and encouraged them by his example. He renewed his attachment to the duchess of Richmond, and he kept as his mistress Moll Davies, an eminent dancer, by whom the king had a daughter, who married Radcliffe, a nobleman; he had also Nell Gwyn, an actress, who attracted admiration in the dress and character of a boy, and who became the mother of the first duke of St. Albans. The king found in her a constant source of amusement, as she was lively, witty, and eccentric, and never interfered in matters of state; while Castelnau continued her influence over the monarch from habit. When Charles, who was by nature indolent and careless, pursued his pleasures, Buckingham felt certain of retaining the royal favour as long as he had the means to supply his sovereign with money; and in order to consolidate the power into his own hands, he contrived to fill every department of the administration with his own friends: even the feelings of the duke of York became a subject for his ridicule.

The parliament being backward in voting supplies, the intriguing spirit of Buckingham opened a secret negotiation with France, by means of the king's sister, the duchess of Orleans. A copy of this secret treaty being transmitted to France, its counterpart was confided to the keeping of Thomas Clifford, and is in the possession of lord Camden of Chudleigh; a copy of which is to be found in the appendix to Lingard's History, vol. xii. note B. Its principal object was to obtain money for Charles; the important conditions for this accommodation were, first, understanding, that the king of England should profess the Catholic religion at such a time as he should judge



; and that he should join Louis in carrying on a war against the Dutch republic. Touching the king's intention of declaring himself a Catholic, the strictest secrecy was to be observed by the two monarchs, as well as by the few who were intrusted with the opinions of Charles, and his brother. The duke of York had ever shown himself a zealous member of the established church, until led into a more minute inquiry by the perusal of Dr. Heylin's history of the Reformation.

Conceiving it then his duty to become a member of the Catholic faith, the duke formed the resolution to attend the service of the latter in private, while outwardly he should maintain the established form of worship; but on being informed by Symonds, a jesuit missionary, that no dispensation could be obtained for such duplicity of conduct, he communicated to his brother his determination to embrace the Catholic religion. He did this in the presence of the lords Arundel and Arlington, and sir Thomas Clifford. In a private conversation which passed in the king's closet, Charles regretted the hardships of professing a creed which he did not believe, and asked their advice how he should proceed to anticipate himself from his present restraint. The gentlemen, who were themselves Catholics, advised his writing to the aid of the French monarch. Regarding the sincerity of Charles, it may be very justly suspected that he was acting with a design to deceive his brother and Louis; more especially as he always contrived to delay making the intended declaration whenever the French monarch reminded him of the circumstance: and in the ensuing session of parliament, the king, in contradiction to his late assertion, urged, by his influence, the passing a new "Conventicle Act" which enacted fines against all persons above sixteen years of age, who should attend, and all ministers who should officiate, at any other form of worship than that of the established church. Spies and informers now found busy employment; houses were entered and searched, many persons were carried to prison, and various hardships attended the execution of this act. The king condescended to dissemble when nonconformists disturbed his pleasures with their com-

ists, and for their moderation and forbearance.

The secret negotiation was persevered in, continued their system of secrecy, so that very few were known, except to the negotiators. The duke paid a visit to her brother, who went to meet him; there he first saw the beautiful Mademoiselle de Longueville, whom he so much admired, that after the death of her father, which happened a fortnight after her return, Charles selected this favourite maid of honour for his mistress, and made her lady of the bedchamber. The two monarchs took this opportunity to conclude their negotiation by a second treaty, of which the marshal de Bellefonds, who was sent to France to condole with Charles on the death of his father, and the duke of Buckingham, who conveyed the duke of Charles in return to the French monarch, were the principal actors. By this treaty the ministers were acquainted; the subject of religion being kept out of their conference. The banishment of Clarendon, the duke of Buckingham's continual apprehensions, lest revenge on the late chancellor should operate to deprive him of power his ambition had required; and the

witnesses in favour of a private marriage between  
and the mother of Monmouth ; but on this being  
Charles, he demolished the plan at once, by declar-

" much as he loved the duke, he had rather see  
ed at Tyburn, than own him for his legitimate son."

scheme was an offer to carry off the queen, where  
I never more be heard off. Charles laughed at the  
of the idea ; though he listened attentively to the plan  
ree, but then there was no existing precedent for a  
during the lives of the parties : a precedent, how-  
soon created. Lady Roos, in consequence of adul-

been divorced, and a bill was now brought into  
s, to enable the lord Roos to marry again. The object  
instantly visible. The king used all his influence to  
the duke of York all his efforts to oppose, the bill.  
carried by a majority of two. The king was present  
third reading ; and from that time Charles attended the  
house : he considered this part of his duty a kind  
wage, and said it was something like seeing a play.

In 1669, the queen mother, Henrietta de Bourbon, consort  
Charles I., died at the castle of Colombe, near Paris.  
After the death of the king, she married privately, Jermyn,  
of St. Albans. Her last years were spent in acts of  
piety and devotion. In the beginning of the present year  
duke of Albemarle, celebrated as general Monk, paid the  
of nature, at his seat in Essex : the king honoured his  
with a public funeral in Henry VIIIth's chapel, and  
Duchess, who had been successively his washerwoman, his  
mistress, and his wife, in less than three weeks after followed  
her husband to the grave.

At the end of this year the duke of Ormond had a very narrow  
escape from the hands of banditti, who seized him in St.  
Martin's-street, as he was returning from a dinner given in the  
city. A brace of pistols was discharged at him, but the dark-  
ness of the night prevented a discovery of the ruffians, who  
endeavouring to drag him to Tyburn. The king offered  
a reward of 1000*l.* for the discovery of the offenders ; and a  
committee of the House of Lords instituted a writ of inquiry.

awe of majesty unnerved his arm, and the pistol d  
him. He then proceeded to tell his majesty, w  
sent, that he was but one of three hundred who  
revenge each other's blood, and threatened th  
would place the life of his majesty and his advise  
The conduct of Charles towards this offender wa  
lar; he not only forgave him, but he required  
that he should not prosecute Blood, and he gave  
of five hundred a-year in Ireland. The king p  
miscreant to appear at court, and often treated hi  
of his personal favour. Buckingham's great d  
mond was well known, and suspicions were en  
Blood was only his agent in the business. Osse  
son, felt so sure of the duke's guilt, that on se  
day standing by the king, the young man gav  
feelings, and said to Buckingham, " My lord  
that you are at the bottom of the late attempt up  
but I give you warning, if by any means he con  
end, I shall consider you as the assassin : I sha  
such; and wherever I meet you I shall pistol  
you stood behind the king's chair : and I tell

Mary and Anne, who both became queens of England. The business of the state at this period was conducted by the *Cabal*; they discussed each point, and determined on measures to be pursued, after which the matter was submitted to the council. The five members of this secret cabinet were the only persons with whom the king consulted respecting war against the republican states of Holland, who expected to profit by the aid of the English; rewarded the commissioners who had signed the treaty at Dover; and, to bind the leading ministers closely to his interest, he granted a pension of ten thousand pounds to lady Shrewsbury, the mistress of Buckingham, and a handsome present to the wife of Arlington.

One member of the *Cabal* entertained some vague notions of republicanism. Lauderdale was one of the remnant of the Scottish party. Buckingham, with a freedom of manners that was not to be controlled, professed to be an orthodox churchman; but Ashley Cooper did not confine his religious principles to any particular form; and Clifford and Arlington were Catholics at heart, but conformed, for fashion sake, to the established church. Clifford acknowledged himself of the church during the Dutch war, and Arlington became so to it in his last sickness.

Charles was at great difficulty in undertaking a war against Holland without the means of supply. Much of the grant from parliament had been lavished extravagantly. Charles could not return soon again to their generosity; but it was suggested to Clifford and Ashley to shut up the exchequer, to pay no more advances upon the security of the fund, but to secure payments that should be made by the officers of the army for the public service, during one year. It had been the custom of the bankers to take their money to the exchequer, and to deposit it upon the security of the funds, by which they were afterwards reimbursed when the money was raised on loan.

By this proceeding many bankers failed, and a great shock was given to the commercial credit of the country, while the ministers lost their reputation and their power.

Subsequent events gave to the states a suspicion

that Charles was the secret ally of the French king. In a declaration previous to the commencement of hostilities, Charles stated some frivolous causes for the war, and that he might not seem wholly unmindful of his promises made at Breda, he suspended the penal laws against nonconformists, allowing to dissenters the exercise of religion in licensed meeting-houses; but with a limitation to Catholics, to confine their religious assemblies to private houses.

The Dutch were the first to appear in the channel, where Ruyter hoped to have prevented the junction of the French and English fleets; but a fog favoured the progress of the fleet, and they passed unnoticed by the enemy. Several engagements were fought between the parties, and great valour and bravery were displayed by all. The earl of Sandwich, with determination not to quit his vessel when death was the certain result of his remaining on board, convinced those persons of their error who had doubted his courage. The expectations of Charles were not gratified, and a treaty of peace became desirable when prince William of Orange, the nephew to Charles, dissuaded the states from yielding to the proposals of Louis, and the war began from that time to languish.

At home a very strong opposition was formed in the commons; for, in order to prosecute the war, a liberal supply had been voted to Charles, chiefly on the understanding that he should recall the declaration he made when he closed the great chequer, of suspending the penal laws against recusants and nonconformists, allowing to the dissenters licensed meeting-houses, and to Catholics the indulgence of assemblies in their own houses. The supply was unprecedented in its amount, 1,260,000*l.*; and knowing the poverty of the king, the commons of toleration decided that penal statutes, in ecclesiastical matters, could not be suspended but by act of parliament. The French king employed his ambassador to dissuade Charles from having any disagreement with his parliament. Charles, to whom money was always a first consideration, was less that his love of ease made him ever more ready to take the trouble of contending for any just

er; he consented to a bill, called the "test act," which rendered all persons incapable of public employment, civil or military, who refused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and did not receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, besides various other limitations. This was suggested to the Commons by the reputed papist John Ashley, who expected thereby to gain the treasurer's staff, to exercise his revenge against Clifford. The earl of Shaftesbury proposed the measure in the upper house; having obtained an exception in favour of himself and his wife, who were the only Catholics that enjoyed the privilege of exemption from the "test." The enmity shown throughout this measure to the papists seems to have afforded a never-ending fuel for the prejudices of every party. Suspicion now fell on the duke of York, who, by not accompanying his father in the usual custom of receiving the sacrament together at Christmas, caused the truth to be in part suspected; his resignation of such offices as he had hitherto held, confirmed the fact that he was a Catholic. Before the end of that year he married the Italian princess Modena; which measure the Commons endeavoured to set aside by a petition asking to render it invalid. This his majesty refused; when the duke was afterwards advised to retire to Flanders, James replied, "That he should not abandon his country unless he received the royal command; neither would he absent himself from England, when his presence was necessary to frustrate the machinations of his enemies."

In regard to the war, the success of the French king in Flanders had provoked the resistance of the states, and the prince of Orange took upon himself the task of liberating his country. In England the supply voted by the parliament enabled them to make great preparations. The command of the fleet devolved on prince Rupert, who had some engagements with de Ruyter, from which he gained very little, if any, advantage. Everywhere the prince of Orange proved successful. Leopold of Austria and Charles of Spain joined the duke in opposing the powers of France and England.

and Louis, finding it necessary to bind Charles more to his interests, granted him a singular favour by confirming Louise de Querouaille, the mistress of the English king, the domain of Aubigné, in the province of Berry, to be enjoyed by her during her life, and at her death to descend to any one of his natural sons which he might name. Louise had borne a son to Charles, in July, 1672, after which she was created duchess of Portsmouth; that son was by his father heir to Aubigné, and received the title of duke of Richmond, to whom that estate had formerly appended, and at whose death it had reverted to the crown. At this period, complaints and petitions were presented from every quarter; the corruption of the ministry with the practical hypocrisy of the Commons, who pretended to be the representatives of the nation, while they suffered themselves to follow their own interests and their own prejudices, produced a combination of results, that increased the discontent of the nation, and the difficulties of its government. When much mischief had been effected, the people came under a scrutiny into the conduct of the ministers. Lauderdale was charged with the adoption of arbitrary measures. Beckford thought by anticipation to disarm his opponents, but the effect he could effect was to shift a little of the burden from his shoulders to those of Arlington, who as readily retorted the charge upon his colleagues. These dissensions ended in an honourable peace; for Charles, finding that he was unable to obtain further supplies, was compelled to conclude a truce in the best manner he could, and congratulated himself on his success in persuading the French monarch that necessity had compelled him to be no longer an ally, but that he should find a friend ready to act as mediator between him and his opponents. William, third prince of Orange, held the office of Stadtholder, and the States consented to lower the British man-of-war as a matter of right. Every article of this treaty promised a long continuance of peace.

The next general object of attention was the exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne; a step which the prejudices of that age forced the king to take under



ration. But the duke felt unwilling to rely solely on  
 g, because of his uncertain disposition: he therefore  
 sed his brother's forbearance, by soliciting, for his use,  
 ly of money from the king of France. This sufficed  
 ne; but the duke of Monmouth received the office of  
 ader-in-chief, which was regarded as the prelude to  
 him in opposition to the claims of York; until a  
 formidable rival appeared in the prince of Orange, whom  
 art party sought to draw into a marriage with the  
 s Mary, eldest daughter of the duke of York, and a  
 was formed at Lambeth, the fruits of which were  
 ed in a proclamation, which imposed new and greater  
 tions on the Catholics. In vain did the duke of York  
 strate, and state the danger of gouding the Catholics to  
 on. The only notice taken by his royal brother of his  
 ions was by an act of an insulting nature,—his order to  
 shop of London to conduct the princess Mary to church,  
 give her the right of confirmation, contrary to the desire  
 father.

ring the session a bill was proposed, as a test, to be  
 by all members of parliament, all magistrates, and  
 office. After a long and interesting debate, the minis-  
 elded in opinion; and when the bill came forth again  
 nendments, the dissension of the members caused the  
 o prorogue the parliament. When it again met the  
 : was renewed between the two Houses, and the vio-  
 of opposition caused it again to be prorogued, and for  
 g period of fifteen months.

as at this time that an adventurer, one Beauchateaux, the  
 an actress, in Paris, who had filled the several situations  
 er in a school, servant to a bishop, inmate in a mo-  
 r, and companion to an itinerant missionary, having  
 tted a forgery at Montdidier, fled from the pursuit of  
 , and arrived in London under a feigned name, and  
 t money or friends. He called himself Hyppolite du  
 let de Luzancy; and professed an anxious desire to  
 m to the church of England. In the pulpit at the  
 he read his abjuration, and delivered a discourse, in

which he stated the grounds of his conversion. Instantly the French Jesuit (so he was now styled) became an object of interest to the zealous and the charitable. Contributions flowed to him from numerous quarters; and his only anxiety was to secure the means of support after the first excitement, which he had caused, should have died away. About the middle of the session, he gave information to some of the popular leaders, that, about a month before, father St. Germain, who for greater effect, was described as confessor to the duchess of York, had surprised him in his lodgings, and holding a poniard to his breast, had compelled him, with the threat of instant death, to sign a recantation and a promise to return to his native country. Neither the improbability of the tale, nor the time that had been suffered to elapse, seems to have awakened suspicion. Lord Hollis communicated the important intelligence to the king in the House of Lords; but Russel introduced it to the notice of the House of Commons, and the parliament, the court, the city, and the country, were sounded with cries of astonishment at the insolence of the Papists.

The convert was examined before the privy council and a committee of the House. He persisted in his former tale, and added, that he had learned from some French merchants, that in a short time Protestant blood would flow through the streets of London; and from St. Germain, that the king was at heart a Catholic; that the declaration of indulgence had been framed for the purpose of introducing Popery, and that there was an infinite number of priests and Jesuits in London who did great service to God. But the minds of men began to cool, when he was called upon to produce his witnesses. The absence of some, and the worthlessness of others, shook the faith of his supporters; and the appearance of a pamphlet soon afterwards, in which was detailed an account of his life in the metropolis, and a refutation of his charge against St. Germain, put a stop to further inquiry on the subject.

In Scotland the attention of the government for the last eight years had been principally occupied with the support of episcopacy, in opposition to the feelings of the people;

measures used were more lenient than when the influence of Clarendon presided in the cabinet; yet the followers of the king were so guarded against innovation, that conciliatory measures proved equally fruitless as severe ones, in effecting an adjustment of this religious controversy. The civil power was exercised in the most arbitrary manner, until, roused by the incapacity of their governors, a party formed under the leadership of Hamilton and Twedale, who refused the proposition of the English commissioner Lauderdale, to raise a supply of money. They called the attention of the House to a list of their national grievances, which having done, they sailed for England, and laid them in a petition before the king; and, though religion formed no part of the subject of their complaints, still the religious animosity of the parties rendered it impossible for Charles to settle their differences. In Ireland, the act which ten years before had prohibited the exportation of cattle, had reduced the agriculturists to the greatest distress. When the fall of Clarendon rendered him obnoxious to the new ministry, they censured his conduct; and though he had sought every channel by which to remedy the injurious results of that act, he was displaced to make room for Robarts, a man devoted to the new ministry; but he was so soon disliked by the Irish on account of his severe manners, that he was recalled, and Berkeley, another enemy of Clarendon, appointed to the lieutenancy. Prejudice against Popery was raised by the popular clamour, to prevent any mitigations of the sufferings of the Catholics of Ireland; and the only hope that Charles held out to the unfortunate condition, was a promise, that a review of the grievances should be laid before the council. By the removal of Buckingham from the royal confidence, the English ministry had undergone a change which affected many of its details. The former favourite joined the opposition, and the present treasurer, was well qualified, by industry and application, to improve the revenue; but as he was moderate in his designs, he did not possess the king's confidence, and his honest wish to please all parties prevented him from acquiring the good opinion of any. At this period,

the death of Turenne, by a random shot which struck the breast as he was viewing the position of the French into a state of consternation. The king took the command. The Dutch also lost their commander, De Ruyter, before the commissioners met to settle the final treaty of peace. Each of the different views. The Dutch, burdened with the expense of war, desired peace; the prince of Orange, according to his natural ambition and his hatred towards France, was for war; the Spaniards were resolved not to let go of Flanders to the risk of French invasion, but on account of their own insufficiency to protect it, looked for protection from England; while Charles was so divided between his interest with Louis, and the dread of offending the Dutch, that he could not bring his thoughts to any decision.

At the meeting of the parliament a strong opposition was made by Buckingham and his new colleagues at its proceedings, on the ground that the long session amounted to its dissolution; but they were all committed to the Tower. The success of the campaign under Condé was such as to arouse the fears of the English, and the English petitioned their sovereign to join the league, offensive and defensive, against the power of France, with promises of sufficient supplies for the purpose. At this juncture, however, a nearer view of the alliance between William and the princess Mary, niece to the king, prevented the treaty to a conclusion. Charles wished that the marriage preceded the marriage, but the prince of Orange insisted on his determination to marry first: saving that

Charles condescended to receive *privately* three hundred thousand pounds, on a promise that he would disband his army and leave Louis the liberty of forming his own terms with the confederates. When an adjustment was made, the English were so dissatisfied at the defenceless state of Flanders, because Tournay and the principal towns of the frontier were to remain in the possession of France, which by these means be raised to a pinnacle of power that alarming to all Europe,) that sir William Temple proposed to Holland, and concluded a separate treaty, by which the Dutch were bound to continue the war, should they persist in keeping those towns; and England was to withdraw from the confederacy: a measure which was frustrated by the intrigues of the two sovereigns. Charles was in the habit of visiting Barillon, the French ambassador, in the apartments of his mistress the duchess of Portsmouth, where the king spent some part of every day; and he was induced, through the persuasions of the duchess and her friend Barillon, to give an order to Temple, which altered the state of affairs: the treaty was concluded on the terms prescribed by England and Holland.

The disregard shewn by Charles to the honour and the interests of his subjects had rendered him exceedingly unpopular. The people of Scotland were as much dissatisfied as those in England, and preferred their complaints of the arbitrary measures of Lauderdale, who governed in the name of the royal commissioners.

The sovereign having listened to their complaints, said, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many *bad* things against the people of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has done anything *contrary to my interest*." His majesty, who was naturally humane, disapproved of violent measures; yet, from habits of indolence, he used no exertion to remove the disorders which were not immediate; and his Scottish subjects continued to feel that the royal authority might be maintained without inflicting punishment on the aggressors. The general discontent, which had been increasing for years, was brought to an alarming crisis, by the discovery of a plot

which was said to have a threefold object : to kill the king, to alter the government, and to extirpate the Protestants in favour of Popery.

On the 12th of August, it is said, doctor Ingham, a clergyman of London, applied to his friend, a chemist, desiring him to inform the king that he had a design against his life. On the following day, Kirby discovered the commission, and was desired by his majesty to bring to him at eight o'clock that evening. Tongue, at that hour appointed, and delivered to the king a letter containing the particulars of a plot, digested into several articles, and said that it was a copy of a writing which had been thrust under his door without his knowledge. He supposed it was done by a certain person who had formerly amused him on subjects of a similar nature. In the evening he returned to the treasurer, and informed him of the matter. The man, who had also given him another narrative, than the former, which he now delivered to the earl. The earl, having perused the paper, asked Tongue if he knew the two men mentioned in the narrative, and who were intended to assassinate the king, and who were their names of Grove and Pickering. Tongue acknowledged he did know them ; and that, though he was ignorant of their abode, he believed he could easily find out the place of that circumstance. Some days after Tongue informed the lord treasurer that he had discovered the names of Grove and Pickering ; and that they soon intended to go to Windsor to perpetrate their horrid purpose.

But the king, did not take notice of this information, and Tongue pretended that he was necessary to the king, and that he was necessary to the king, and that he was necessary to the king.

n upon him ; that the letters seemed to contain matter  
 igerous import, and that he knew them not to be the  
 iting of the persons whose names were subscribed to

discernment of Charles led him to think the plot a fic-  
 m the manner in which it was first made known to  
 d he had cautioned his treasurer Danby against speak-  
 . “ I shall alarm the whole kingdom,” said he, “ and  
 ights of killing me into people’s heads who never en-  
 d such thoughts before.” But the anxiety of the duke  
 to clear his confessor Bedingfield, and the Catholics,  
 foul an accusation, caused him to obtain his brother’s  
 that the packet of letters which had been directed to  
 held might be examined by the council. Kirby and  
 were now sent for ; and the latter declared, that he  
 l his intelligence from one Titus Oates\*, who had  
 ed a clergyman of the church of England, had after-  
 embraced the Catholic doctrine, had finally abjured it,  
 lately arrived in his native country. At no period  
 umour have found the people so willing to listen to her  
 and yet, allowing this to be truth, so badly was the plot  
 , so unconnected in its relations, so inconsistent in its  
 stances, and so infamous was the known character of  
 Oates, who was the principal actor in it, that it per-  
 men’s opinion. Some supposed it to be an invention  
 ge the populace against the king and the duke of  
 others thought it originated in a design to render the  
 solute, and to alter the religion, yet could not believe  
 ntent to murder his majesty ; and after weighing the  
 nts on both sides, declared they were incapable of  
 to any positive conclusion ; and the populace, whose  
 prejudice against popery had received every encourage-

Oates was a man of profligate character, who was bred to the church, and had  
 ing in Engalnd which he was compelled to abandon on account of a prosecution  
 . By the advice of Dr. Tongue, a credulous character, who delighted in  
 lots, and circulating mischievous reports, Oates resolved on embracing the  
 lligion, and by residing with the Jesuits, find out the designs of the Catholics  
 with the English court. With this intent he went to their seminary at St.  
 p. whence he was expelled for ill conduct, and being without money or em-  
 lived on the charity of Dr. Tongue.

ment from the parliament, who made the em informer honourable by the offer of rewards to covered priests and recusants, were wound up of frenzy, that they were ready to tear in pieces who were in favour of Coleman, and many who were brought to trial on that occasion, crime seemed to be their religion.

Many suffered death with great firmness, most solemn protestations of innocence; but persuasive proofs did not awaken compassion in the spectators.

Bedloe, another adventurer, took advantage of the humour of the nation, to impose the discovery of a plot upon the credulity of the parliament. The arrest of Coleman, secretary to the duke, and several priests, and a celebrated lawyer named Oates, all of whom were brought to trial, Oates and the witnesses against them; and though the evidence from St. Omer's proved that Oates was true, he had sworn that he was in London, that they were Catholics, was disbelieved. They were pronounced guilty, and executed, declaring to the last moment. Charles, who now saw the necessity of doing something to satisfy the people, followed the advice of sir William Temple, and formed a new project, which, however, could mollify the exasperated nation.

A bill passed the Commons this session, to



which Danby was the first to feel its vengeance, excited an exposure of the following letter in the House of Commons, by Montague, the king's ambassador at Paris; having returned without leave, had secreted it from his papers, to criminate the minister. It was addressed to Montague, by Danby, and related to the purchase of neutrality from Charles towards the allies, during the late war, by French monarch.

"In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king is to pay six millions of livres for three years, from the time his agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France; because it will probably be two or three years before the parliament will be in a humour to give him supplies after the making of any peace with France; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum, but not for long a time. If you find the peace will not be accepted, do not to mention the money at all; and all possible care is to be taken to keep this whole negotiation as private as possible, for fear of giving offence at home, where, for the present, we hear, in ten days after, of any thing that is communicated to the French ministers."

To quiet Danby's scruples, the king had added, "This letter is written by my order, C. R."

When the letter was heard, the suspicions of the Commons were created the circumstance into a belief, that every step had been taken by Charles in conjunction with the king, had been illusory, and deceitful. With a view to possess themselves of the whole fact, they impeached the treasurer Danby of high treason. The king, who thought himself bound to protect his servant, dissolved the parliament, previous to calling a new one, he granted a pardon to Danby, which the Commons at their next assembly objected to the plea, that no pardon of the crown could extend to a subject who had been impeached by the Commons of England.

Hitherto, the prerogative of mercy in the crown had been considered unlimited; and at first, the Peers were inclined to adhere to the pardon, but at length yielded to the opinion of the Commons.

which the Commons, in a fit of disapprobation, the intimate friends of the duke of York, was the lord Stafford, who, by the testimony of and Tuberville, (which, though full of inconsistency, was credited, in consequence of the Catholics were then held, from a belief that he to destroy the Protestant religion,) was executed at Hill. The venerable appearance of the devoted sixty-eighth year, caused the spectators, with his conviction, to shed tears of regret. His innocence, and his expression of hope that the conclusion of the public mind might soon subvert their hearts with sympathy; twice the executioner, unable to direct the fatal blow, when at last, the weapon performed its part, and as he fell, the body a general exclamation of sorrow burst forth.

The Commons continued to exhibit signs of discontent with all the measures of the court, and perceived a suspicious strain, to urge the exclusion bill, whose patience was exhausted at this conduct, from his parliament, first prorogued, and then dissolved, and declaring an intention to summon a new parliament.

resolution in the monarch astonished his enemies; spirit left them with their good fortune, and fear succumbed to violence. From that moment Charles became cruel and severe; he governed the nation with an absolute tyranny, and it is to be regretted that the same mode of su-  
 g witnesses, the same negligence as to the respectability of witnesses was allowed now, as on former occasions, and of the leaders of the popular party were selected as objects of his retaliating vengeance: lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney. These men, with several more, had formed a party for the recovery of legal liberty. Seeing that they were not likely to have the channel of a parliament by which to redress their grievances, they had resolved to rise in arms; and, intent to injure the king's person, meant to obtain the person of the duke of York, who was become still more obnoxious by his arbitrary government in Scotland, to which he had retired on his last quitting England.

Russell was universally beloved, and great interest was excited to save his life: but vain were the prayers of his daughter, the daughter of the virtuous Southampton; vain the offer of an hundred thousand pounds from his father, the earl of Bedford; the king was inexorable: a scaffold was erected in White-chapel-fields, and there the head of this nobleman was severed from his body, amid the tears of the spectators. Algernon Sidney was the son of the earl of Leicester; he was a zealous republican, and incurred the hatred of the king and the duke of York, by his exertions to pass the exclusion bill; but as no material evidence appeared to satisfy the desire of his enemies, and as they feared the power of his father, the law was violated to procure his condemnation, and he was executed. The duke of York was recalled from Scotland, restored to his office of high admiral, without taking the oath. Charles trusted the state principally to his management, while he himself returned to his former mistresses, indulged in his former pleasures; but only for a short time, for, seeing that the measures adopted at the suggestion of his brother increased, rather than diminished, the political troubles, he remonstrated with him against his extreme

partiality for the Catholics, and even hinted his opinion that it would be for the peace of the nation that he should again absent himself from England. He spoke of his wish to call another parliament, but before he could put any new plan in execution he was seized with a fit of apoplexy, from which he recovered only for a few days, and expired in the fifty-fifth year of his age. During his last short illness, the king refused the aid of Protestant ministers, and received the communion and the rites of the Romish church from Mr. Huddleston, a Catholic priest.

Charles had no issue by his queen, Donna Catharina, daughter of John IV., of Portugal; but by his mistress, Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters, esq., the king had James, duke of Monmouth, who married Anne Scott, daughter and heiress of Francis earl of Buccleugh.

By Mrs. Elizabeth Killigrew, Charlotte Jemima, Henrietta Maria Fitzroy, married first to James Howard, and then to the earl of Yarmouth.

By Mrs. Catharine Peg, daughter of Thomas Peg, and Charles Fitz-charles, earl of Plymouth, married to Bridget Osborn, daughter of the duke of Leeds.

By Mrs. Barbara Villiers, wife of Roger earl of Castlemain, three sons and three daughters; Charles Fitzroy, after his mother's death duke of Cleveland; Henry Fitzroy, duke of Grafton; and George Fitzroy, duke of Northumberland; Anne Fitzroy, married to the earl of Essex, Charlotte Fitzroy, who married the earl of Litchfield, and Barbara, a nun at Pontefract.

By Louise de Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth, Charles Lennox, duke of Richmond.

By Mrs. Eleanor Gwin, Charles Beauclerk, duke of St. Albans; and James Beauclerk, who died in his infancy;

And by Mrs. Mary Davis, Mary Tudor, married to the earl of Derwentwater.

In person Charles was tall and robust, but his features were harsh, and his complexion is said to have been swarthy. In his cheerful manners and a pleasing address, he possessed many excellent qualities, and a fund of ready wit; yet, in the delineation

haracter, it is difficult to describe him with any cer-

Some historians have defined him according to their peculiar principles and prejudices ; all allow that he was with sense and judgment, and all agree in representing him to have been trifling, capricious, and extravagant ; addicted to voluptuous pleasures, and incapable of serious business. His affability was such, that he always treated his equals as gentlemen, but was himself deficient of kingly majesty. His natural indolence induced him to follow the advice of others, rather than take the trouble to think for himself ; his sensuality rendered him heartless and selfish ; and he wanted energy to be generous, or he would not have allowed the author of ' Hudibras' (a work which the royal cause derived great advantages, and the nation a continual source of amusement) to live in obscurity and die in distress ; and the pathetic Otway to expire in prison. With respect to religion, he wanted the real principle of virtue ; and while in the enjoyment of health, felt little as to the appearance of it ; but having been early initiated in the Catholic faith, he fled to its sanctuary in the moment expecting dissolution.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### JAMES II.

The death of Charles was followed by the proclamation of James II., who ascended the throne of England without any opposition. The peaceable accession of James, and the efforts made in the former reign to exclude him from the throne, is attributed to his having had for the last two years the management of state affairs ; consequently, the court did not undergo any material change on the demise of Charles, nor did James find it needful to change the

His first step was to assemble his privy council, and he spoke as follows:—"Before I enter upon any business, I think fit to say something to you. Since it is the Almighty God to place me in this situation, and I have succeeded so good and gracious a king, as well as as a brother, I think it fit to declare to you, that I will strive to follow his example, and most especially in that his clemency and tenderness to his people. I have been used to be a man for arbitrary power; but that is not that which has been made of me, and I shall make it my business to preserve this government, both in church and state as now by law established. I know the principles of the constitution of England are for monarchy, and the members have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects; therefore I always take care to defend and support it. I know that the laws of England are sufficient to make the king a monarch as I can wish; and as I shall never neglect the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, so I shall invade any man's property. I have often heretofore given my life in defence of this nation, and I shall go as far as any man in preserving it in all its just rights and liberties."

The members expressed so much satisfaction at these assurances of the new monarch, that they begged to publish the speech, which was received by the nation with public demonstrations of joy; and the fullest confidence was given to the promises of James, of whom it was said, that he had never forfeited his word.

The Whigs found themselves humbled into silence; so that the king, supposing that the voice of a part of his subjects expressed the sentiments of the whole, flattered himself with the prospect of a peaceful reign. His conduct soon, however, convinced his subjects that his first professions were insincere; but whoever considers attentively the transactions of this period will be perplexed whether most to despise the meanness of James or the abject servility of his parliament, who, by their guilty compliance with his arbitrary demands, the first month of his accession, nourished the exercise of absolute power, which in its progress undermined the

lms, and expelled the Stuarts from their legitimate  
ce.

complete was the triumph of the court party, that the  
was perfectly reversed in its favour; the popish con-  
was in part discredited, and the cold-blooded Jefferies  
his cruelty in the prosecution of Oates, as he had  
one on the accusers of that man, so that the miscreant  
peared in his true colours; nor was the judge more  
in the sentence of punishment: Oates was doomed to  
of a thousand marks, to be whipped, on the Wed-  
following his trial from Aldgate to Newgate, and on  
ay of the same week, from Newgate to Tyburn; to  
soned during life, and to stand in the pillory five times  
year\*.

followed the custom of his predecessors in calling a  
at; his object in so doing was likewise similar to  
as far as the revenue was a primary cause; but the  
of his majesty was imperative, and sufficiently ex-  
hat he had no means within the reach of his authority  
he should not have recourse, should they withhold  
ling compliance; but the agents in the employ of  
ent were of his former appointment, and their interest  
r woven in the pleasure of the king. For this pur-  
nan was better suited than the treasurer, Lawrence  
rl of Rochester, by his near affinity to the late duchess  
but more especially by his knowledge of the private  
ons of the late monarch with the king of France.  
igs might now continue on the same footing, James  
the French ambassador, Barillon, to whom he per-  
ochester to explain that his master's view in calling  
nent was to obtain supplies, without which he might  
too chargeable to the French monarch; at the same  
allowed Barillon to suppose that the generosity of  
nt might not be altogether sufficient, without occa-  
ds from France, to support his royal independence  
g his own subjects. So faithfully were these things

ontrary to the designs of his persecutors, survived this severity, and in the  
*William received a pension of four hundred pounds a year.*

as since the power of France. The subject was connived at by those ministers who were in confidence, among whom were Churchill and others who, in the reign of Anne, strained every nerve to bring Europe against the encroaching power of France. The changes which circumstances can effect in individuals, who act at one time as the friends of a free government, and at another as its enemies, plotting against his people, and at another as its defenders.

Addresses, worded in the strongest terms, were poured in from all parts of the kingdom; the law vied with each other in the servility of the court, and the different factions seemed to concur in the general ruin. The advice of Judge Jeffries persuaded the king to levy the customs and other duties which had formed a part of the revenue of Charles I. as a right, though the acts which granted them were made with the late prince; the time-serving judges followed the pleasure of the monarch, not the ends of justice; the parliament of England, as well as that of Scotland, complied; so that the liberality of the two kingdoms led the king to suppose that he was firmly established.



sted by the duke of Monmouth, the eldest of the late  
 natural sons, and for many years the favourite of his  
 . Monmouth was courageous, ardent, and brave; and  
 generally beloved for his amiable disposition and the  
 ity of his friendships. He possessed great manly beauty,  
 ith only moderate talents had many effective qualities,  
 caused him to be followed with confidence, esteem, and  
 iastic affection; but he was ambitious, and therefore an  
 of dislike to his uncle James, who, when his brother  
 ed his absence from England, prevailed with him, under  
 pretext of impartiality, to banish his son Monmouth also.  
 le he was joined by the earl of Argyle, the son of the  
 ess who had been so unjustly executed for his adherence  
 late king, and who, for speaking freely of the Scottish  
 ry, was himself condemned to die, which sentence was  
 ed after twelve months' imprisonment; but, having  
 a conscientious interpretation of the test act, the scythe  
 th was again extended over his head! He escaped from  
 t, and having reached the continent, was considered by  
 striots as one who would readily assist in the redemption  
 country from arbitrary oppression. Among other Scots-  
 who from prudential motives then resided abroad, was  
 strick Hume, who, for some offence against the court  
 , had been compelled to seek his safety beyond the sea.  
 ound an asylum in a burial-place, where he received the  
 series of life from an affectionate daughter, who braved  
 rrors of superstition to preserve her father. Of English-  
 the most remarkable was Ford, lord Grey of Wark,  
 e love intrigue with his wife's sister had made him  
 able to the laws of England; and Richard Rumbold, by  
 a maltster, and to whom was attributed (unjustly as the  
 of his life and conduct proved) the design to murder  
 Charles and his brother on their road from Newmarket,  
 the Rye-house plot.

account for this faction having received assistance and  
 ction from the prince of Orange, who it was well  
 n was waiting the opportunity to make his own claim  
 : throne of his father-in-law, it must be taken into con-

and the prince felt assured of his friends, and that  
 the most sure means to prove the  
 Monmouth was in no haste  
 his ambition having in part yielded  
 to the influence of Sir Hatter Wentworth, with whom,  
 he could enjoy lasting happiness  
 he was ready to the immediate trial of his  
 and proceeded to Scotland, where he expected  
 to find ready to join in the invasion. Har-  
 vard was to engage his tenants and dependants  
 but the youth was betrayed by the laird of L.  
 who after giving strong assurances of his assistance  
 sent Argyll's letter to the English govern-  
 ment, and joined the royal forces under the duke of  
 The duke was unsuspecting of what had occurred  
 and soon became the victim of his passions.  
 The weakness of his enemies treated him with every in-  
 jury within their power to inflict, but he submitted  
 to the blow with dignified composure. A late  
 writer, describing his character, has said, "Let Argyll  
 be ever so scrupulously, and in the nicest sense  
 be found, in one single instance, wanting in the  
 firmness and benevolence of a patriot,  
 and fidelity of a man of honour\*."

But Argyll suffered also in the same cause, and  
 with his dying breath that he was entirely innocent  
 design to assassinate the late king or his brother; an as-  
 sertion which the historian Hume has thought proper to  
 record in his account of that period.

While this scene was passing in Scotland, the duke of  
 Monmouth sailed from Holland, and having landed at  
 in Dorsetshire, he there, by the advice of his council,  
 issued a manifesto, in which he reproached king James  
 with all the acts of tyranny and oppression that had taken  
 place during the late reign, and invited all good people to join  
 in redressing their national grievances. This proclama-  
 tion attracted the middling classes to his standard, so that

\* Life of James II., by Charles Fox, p. 204.

of Monmouth's party increased hourly; but not gaining the influence of the nobility, this encouragement served only to precipitate his ruin. Monmouth was not calculated for so important an enterprise; he allowed lord Grey, who was noted for cowardice, to retain the command of the army, and he fled on the first trial. The rebel army proceeded through Somersetshire; at Taunton, and some of the other places, Monmouth assumed the title of king; but finding that he was not joined by any persons of wealth and distinction, he was much inclined to withdraw himself privately; until, however, that his followers were resolved on giving battle to their troops, who were advancing under the command of sir John Mordaunt and Churchill, he yielded to their wishes, and fought with the royal army at Sedgemoor, where, by their superior courage, his undisciplined followers must have conquered the veteran troops, but for the want of ammunition, and other mismanagement on the part of Monmouth, and the cowardice of lord Grey. The duke fled on the defeat of his army, but having exchanged clothes with a shepherd, he escaped, though the examination of that person by lord Lumley, soon discovered him. Being brought to London, the severity of his life caused him to write in the most submissive manner to his uncle, who was in no way inclined to pardon him, for James was by disposition severe and vindictive, and he had hoped, by indulging his nephew with an interview, that he might discover the intention of his confederates. Monmouth was too noble in mind to risk the fate of his friends by any disclosures, and the king, who had previously resolved not to spare his life on any terms, required him to sign an acknowledgment of his illegitimacy, and then informed him that his crime must of necessity be punished with death. He would not even grant the respite of a single day. On the morning of the day of his execution, this unfortunate nobleman delivered the following paper, signed by his own hand. "I do declare, that the title of king was forced upon me; and that it was very much contrary to my opinion when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the world, I do declare that the late king told me he was never married to my

Having declared this I hope the king who is now  
wondering at my conduct suffer on this account. And to this  
I put my hand this thirteenth day of July, 1685.

"MONMOUTH."

At the scaffold Monmouth appeared serene, undaunted,  
and composed before he laid his head upon the block, he  
observed to the executioner that he hoped he would do his  
work better now than in the case of lord Russell, which an  
anecdote told him that he struck several times with the  
axe before he completed the task of severing the head from  
the body.

With the death of the duke of Monmouth ended all pro-  
spect of future resistance to the absolute power of James;  
but the cruelty with which he punished the rebels, and the  
scurious conduct occasioned, accelerated his ruin. From  
that day the servants of the crown acted on such despotic  
principles as shewed they were the ministers of the vengeance,  
rather than of the justice, of the monarch. Many prisoners  
were hanged without the form of a trial. Colonel Kirk, an  
able man, who had learnt cruelty in his intercourse with  
the Moors, was allowed to exercise his cruelties for sport,  
and as the feet of the sufferers quivered in the agonies of  
death, commanded the drums and trumpets to accompany  
their dancing with a voluntary. But even *his* inhumanity  
was exceeded by the lord chief justice Jefferies, who advised  
the rebels to confess and save him the trouble of trying them;  
numbers were executed: many suffered severe whippings;  
and those who escaped with life were reduced to poverty by  
the payment of exorbitant fines. Mrs. Gaunt, an Anabaptist  
of unblemished character, was induced by her beneficent  
person to conceal a rebel and support him until, hearing  
the reward offered for the discovery of criminals who  
guilty of harbouring rebels, the man betrayed his benefactor  
he was pardoned and handsomely rewarded for his treachery  
while she was burnt alive for her charitable conduct;  
error being no preservative within the limits of Je-  
hovah's authority. The courtiers wished to persuade themselves

ges acted without the concurrence of James ; but his soon made it known that he knew, and approved, of proceedings. When he spoke to the justice relating to suit, he humorously termed it a campaign ; he created a peer, and advanced him to the dignity of chan-

his time James had become so intoxicated with pros- that he avowed his intention to dispense with the law required the test to be taken by all persons in office. The rise to inquiry into the dispensing power, and the commons presented a petition against it which the king refused to accept ; upon which occasion Coke, the member for having expressed a hope that they would not be intimidated by a few harsh words, was committed to the Tower. Others next opposed the royal authority by proposing a inquiry, and the king prorogued the parliament. At the time the most trivial indulgence granted to the Catholics the jealousy of those who watched the interest of the established church ; and the recent revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., had caused fifty thousand of the protestants to seek an asylum in England ; and they, by exaggerated accounts of their sufferings, created violent apprehensions among the English protestants. The king behaved though he was indifferent to their fears ; he received refugees into his privy council, and shewed an open determination to favour those who became converts to the Catholic faith. In Scotland, and in Ireland, the same system was pursued ; for as James became fearful that his death might prevent the accomplishment of his design, he laboured zealously to effect the conversion of his subjects. The controversy was brought to an issue by the king's order to the university of London to suspend doctor Sharp, who had made observations respecting the conversion of protestants to the Catholic faith. The bishop objected to this summary proceeding of acting against a divine, and the king resolved on punishing the bishop and doctor Sharp, for which purpose he

*granted by Louis XIV. of France, in order to secure to the protestants the freedom of their religion.*

was aware that James wanted discretion, and ad-  
ration in bringing about such a measure. He  
sent a nuncio who was publicly received at W  
four Catholic bishops were consecrated, and ex-  
functions under the title of vicars apostolic. T  
endeavoured to place Catholics as presidents of c  
on a violent opposition being made at Oxford, he  
shewed his contempt for the opinion of his subje  
licly declaring that he suspended all the penal st  
required conformity to the established religion;  
commanded to be read in all churches after di  
Six of the bishops assembled in the primate  
Lambeth, to draw up a petition, praying his ma  
reading the declaration ; this caused them to be  
the Tower, from whence they were brought to  
ground of the petition being a libel ; but the  
patient hearing of the counsel on both sides,  
the bishops not guilty.

Hitherto, the king had depended on the fidelity  
and was surprised on putting the question re  
penal laws to one regiment, to find their sen  
against his wish From this time men looked

he answered their wishes by an immediate expedition into England. When James was informed by his minister in France, that the states had a fleet already prepared to invade his dominions, he grew pale and trembled, the letter which contained the intelligence dropped from his hand, and he once saw the necessity, and resolved on the means to retrieve the affections of his people. Meantime the prince of Orange sailed from Helvoetsluys with a fleet of five hundred vessels, and an army of fourteen thousand men, carrying a flag with English colours, and his own arms rounded with the words "THE PROTESTANT RELIGION," applicable to the *Liberties of England* ; to which was added, the motto of the house of Nassau, "*Je maintiendrai*," and landed in Torbay. Although several persons of responsibility had gone over to the prince to solicit his assistance, he remained some days without any additional recruits to his cause ; so that he consulted his council on the propriety of leaving the English to settle their differences themselves, when he was joined by major Burnington, whose example was followed by all the principal nobility in Devon and Somersetshire. A party in London petitioned the king to call a parliament, but this James refused to do, while his enemy was in the country. He still confided in the army, until frequent desertions convinced him of his error ; but the defection of the princess Anne and other relatives affected the king most, and he exclaimed, " God help me, my own children have forsaken me !" Having consulted with the protestant lords who were then in London, they advised a negotiation to treat with the prince of Orange ; an interview took place at Hungerford, where the deputies delivered the proposals from the king in writing, and received the proposals of prince William in return. Both agreed that the settlement of the nation should be left to the decision of a free parliament.

The public mind was waiting the issue of this determination, which it was expected would have fixed the king upon his throne on certain conditions, when the plan was suddenly

frustrated by the king's Catholic advisers, and he resolved on quitting the kingdom. On the 10th of December, the queen, with her infant, went to Gravesend, and thence proceeded to Calais, and from thence to the French king at Versailles, who gave them a friendly reception. On the 12th, the king, accompanied only by sir Edward Hales, left London in the night, and went on board a ship which was waiting in the river to receive him.

The populace, unrestrained by any legal master, exercised their vengeance on all with whom they were offended; and demolished the houses of several Catholics. Jeffries, who dreaded the public anger, cut off his eyebrows and otherwise disguised himself, intending to escape beyond sea, but being discovered at Wapping, he was conveyed to the Tower, where he was treated with great severity, and he died a few days after his confinement. In this unsettled state of things the lords and peers assembled and elected the marquess of Halifax their speaker, while they endeavoured to maintain peace in the metropolis, and solicited the aid of the prince of Orange. Every one thought the king was on the continent, but having been stopped at Feversham, he suddenly returned to London and was received with every appearance of joy. He went to his residence at Whitehall, but did not shew any disposition to resume the reins of government. He was soon, however, required to quit the palace, which he did; and being requested by the queen to go to France, he embarked privately, and arrived safe at Ambleteuse, from whence he joined the queen and prince at St. Germain's. Of his eight children, by his first wife, daughter of lord Clarendon, only the princess of Orange, her royal sister Anne, survived the abdication of their father. By his second queen, the princess of Modena, the king had two sons and four daughters. The enemies of James II. thought that he possessed many virtues which, in private life, would have been sufficient to have made him respected and beloved; but, to guide a kingdom, something more than ordinary talents are requisite; more especially at a period when the balance of the executive power was unsteadily maintained.



neither ably protected by the crown, nor honestly by the people.

Duke of Buckingham said of the royal brothers, "I could always *see things if he would*;" and that he could "*see things if he could*."

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### WILLIAM III. AND MARY.

precipitate manner in which James had left the kingdom the government to fall into a state of confusion. In order to regulate matters as quickly as possible, the members of the parliaments, with the peers, the bishops, the mayor, the principal nobility, assembled, and agreed upon making an offer of the vacant crown to the prince and princess of Orange.

The offer was accepted, and on the same day, 12th February, they were proclaimed king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the titles of William III. and Mary II.

The present king was the son of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, and Mary the eldest daughter of Charles I. At the time of his taking possession of the throne, the kingdom was divided by the difference of sentiments as to the form of government. The Tories, who had formed a strong party, were far from being unanimous; some wished for a restoration of James, with a view to James's restoration; and these, on account of their objection to swear allegiance to the new king, went by the title of the Nonjuring party. Another party was known by the appellation of High-flyers, and they maintained their right to obey the king as an usurper, but they reserved to themselves the right to exercise their efforts in favour of James. There were also in two parties, one favoured democracy, the other adhered to the old constitution. The king was a Calvinist, and averse to persecution; there-

been most grievously the practice in the preceding reign; and it was resolved to make a distinction, by allowing a proportion for the king's use and the support of the government, leaving the remaining part subject to the controul of parliament; and this, which William was at first inclined to consider a mark of their ingratitude and their want of confidence in him, the Tories turned to their advantage, by persuading his majesty that they were true friends to monarchy, and that all the Whigs were under the influence of republican principles. Their malice was now making a tender of their entire services to his majesty, and insinuated their fears that they might not be able to give the assistance they desired to the crown, on account of the vengeance with which they were threatened by the dissenters; and the king, in consequence of their representations, recommended a bill of indemnity as the most effectual way to annihilate all animosities; and he expressed a desire that the bill should be immediately prepared, but the Whigs opposed the intended indulgence by their renewed objections, and the whole session. The new act of settlement was the subject of the attention of both houses; by this bill the crown was limited to the protestant line, and

after appointed the palace of St. Germain for his residence and furnished him with every necessary for his table and household, and offered him a greater number of troops than James thought it needful to accept; for he imagined that his subjects would have afforded him every facility of regaining his throne; but Scotland had offered its allegiance to William, so that to Ireland alone could James look with hope of success; there he relied on the loyalty of its lieutenant, Tyrconnel. Previous to his embarking for that kingdom the French monarch affectionately embraced James, and said, "The best thing I can wish you is, that I may never see you again."

The exiled king sailed from Brest, and arrived in Kinsale on the 22d of May: favoured by Tyrconnel, he made a triumphant entry into Dublin, and succeeded in reducing Colebrook and was proceeding to Londonderry, taking every means, by proclamation and an act of attainder against the Protestants, to extirpate that religion in Ireland. William, from the commencement of his reign, allowed his interests to be principally engrossed in framing a plan to humble the power of France, which had acquired an ascendancy that rendered its power and aggrandizement formidable to the rest of Europe. The parliament were now busily employed in raising the subsidies to support the war, in reversing attainders which had been passed in the last reign, and in bringing the authors of the illegal proceedings to justice. The death of lord Russell was accounted murder; Titus Oates received a pardon and a competent annuity; and inquiry was instituted into the claims of the state prisoners. Meantime the claims of the Catholics in Ireland were neglected, but the command of a powerful force, under the able duke of Schomberg, was now at their assistance. Londonderry had braved a long siege, and William, with prince George of Denmark and several persons of distinction, arrived with fresh troops. The armies viewed each other from the opposite banks of the river, which in one part allowed the men on foot to wade.

Here, as William was considering the most likely position of his army, a shot from a cannon (which had been

metropolis. The profligacy of the preceding reign sowed the seeds of vice so profoundly, that the general morals were perverted; and numerous petitions were presented to his majesty, praying that the laws against the propagation of Atheism might be put in force. In consequence of the influence still practised by the Jacobites, many of the Catholics, a rigorous law was enacted against the disabled the followers of that creed from inheriting or purchasing landed property, without previously taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

The young duke of Gloucester was now in the fourth year, and with an amiable disposition and good education, expected, under the direction of his learned preceptor Burnet, to have acquired the qualifications suitable to a monarch; but he caught a malignant fever, of which he died; and as he was the only remaining child to the late Anne, his death was a subject of regret to the king. The king, when next he met his parliament, presented them an act of settlement, by which the succession to the crown should be fixed in the Protestant line. This was done by naming the princess Sophia as the next heir to the crown, in case of failure of issue from the late William and the princess Anne.

The duke of Anjou succeeded to the crown of Spain, which the emperor of Germany, the king of England, and the states general of Holland, engaged in a treaty of grand alliance, for the acknowledged purposes of assisting the emperor to his imperial majesty in regard to the succession; the obtaining security to the English trade and commerce; the preventing the French from possessing the Spanish Netherlands.

Soon after the signing of this treaty, James II. returned to France, and on the 10th of July, at his own request, was baptised in the name of William III. at La Trappe.

ted monarch upon the throne : but, upon  
red to the marquis of Carmarthen, the  
in it were arrested at Gravesend, pre-  
and their letters, containing invitations  
assist James, were also taken and pe-  
brought to trial : but only one, named

urned from the congress at the Hague,  
ust certain general points with the con-  
ind the English somewhat dissatisfied :  
a permanent revenue to the crown, and  
spleased with this want of confidence,  
ent. There were many who not only  
the dethroned monarch, but who also  
n, and were led to expect great assist-  
t this period several letters arrived to  
xes, inviting them to the French court,  
hement of the consort of James, but  
not accepted. At the close of the ses-  
gave fresh dissatisfaction, by refusing  
which passed both houses, for ren-  
e judges independent of the influence

finding every attempt at invasion to  
o disturb the government with their  
ised a constant opposition to the  
th raising supplies to carry on the  
d evils—the national debt, and the  
ommons—and to correct the latter  
of triennial parliaments.

ome rich merchants subscribed a  
isand pounds to establish a fund,  
royal licence, into a body called,  
y of the Bank of England. Soon  
l, queen Mary died of the small-  
of her age, and was buried :  
ne-tic and reserved habits  
ess of the court ; she was ]

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and even naturally industrious: like her husband, she was fond of retirement, and they resided in the country, although no means accorded with the luxury and gaiety that distinguished the two preceding reigns; yet the private efforts of the queen could not procure her the esteem of the nation whilst living, nor preserve her memory from insult after death.

Her death was preceded by that of archbishop Burnet, a man in whom sincere piety characterized every action of his life. His practice of charity was so universal, that when the king forgiven his first-fruits, the bishop's debts could not have been paid. His widow received two thousand pounds for the manuscript of his sermons, and an annual pension of three hundred pounds.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### WILLIAM III.

THE death of the late queen once more revived the claims of the Tories, who wished to consider the title to the crown as the part of William, as having expired. But a new crisis was at this time unfolded, which engrossed the attention of all parties, since it exposed a system of bribery and corruption which had pervaded the army, the court, and the administration. Inquiry was entered upon; one discovery led to another, and circumstances came to light which proved that undue influence had been used in parliament. Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, and Mr. Hungerford, chairman of the grand committee, had both received bribes in connection with the "Orphan bill;" the same nefarious conduct had been practised by the East India company in obtaining their new charter, and was thought to have spread throughout the several government offices. Reform followed inquiry; and as soon as the country had become tranquil, the king resolved on visiting his patrimonial states, and committed the direction of the government to a regency, from which his jealousy excluded Anne and her consort, George of Denmark. At the

business was done in the parliament. William was cold in disposition, and incapable of social enjoyments: but he was attentive to the business of the state. The bill for trying the trials of persons indicted for treason was passed in session: lord Ashley, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, zealous in its cause, and had prepared a speech, in which he was to plead in favour of persons tried for treason being allowed counsel, but when he rose in the house for that purpose, memory failed him so that he could not recollect a single word of what he had prepared to speak; but he served the cause more effectually by the following apology, addressed to the speaker: "If I, sir, who rise only to give my opinion on a bill now depending, am so confounded that I am unable to express the least of what I proposed to say,—will not wonder at that man be, who, without any assistance, is going for his life, and under apprehension of being guilty of it?"

During the king's absence a plan had been laid for his assassination at his return, which was very near taking effect. Duke of Berwick had visited England privately, and several persons who were engaged for the purpose. French troops were in readiness to convey the troops, and James II in Calais, prepared to head the invasion, while the regiments in England were in readiness to arm at a moment's notice.

The king usually took the exercise of boxing on Monday, and it was intended to meet him in the lane leading from Turnham-green to Brentford, where, if necessary to deliver the fatal blow, sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, was engaged to be the executioner: other conspirators were scattered in the neighbourhood. Two days, however, before the projected tragedy was to be performed, three of the principal actors, Fisher, Pendergrass, and La Rue, made a confession of the whole plot; the two former to the earl of Portland, the latter to brigadier Levison—each being ignorant of the other's intention. The king was not inclined to credit the existence of such a plot, but having admitted Pendergrass into his presence, he obtained from him a list of the assassins, the names of whom, Barclay, who had in his possession the com-

mission granted by James, absconded, and could never be found. Several of the others were arrested, tried, and being proved guilty, suffered the death due to their crimes.

James, whose confidence in the success of this plan had induced him to embark with his artillery and stores, retired precipitately, on seeing admiral Russell, with a fleet of fifty sail advancing along the French coast, and returned to his court at St. Germain's. From that day he resigned all worldly splendour, and devoted his whole attention to the care of his soul: the remainder of his life was free from the least attempt to recover his former greatness; he observed all the regular fasts of the church, and frequently submitted his body to severe chastisement. His demeanour was affable and kind: and while some thought that religion had impaired the faculties of his mind, he gave a constant example that it had improved the virtues of his heart.

Louis XIV. of France was an accomplished gentleman, as well as a great monarch, and he always treated the deposed king with kindness and affection: but a faithful perusal of the French history of that period will incline the reader to think, in addition to the political disappointment in the failure of James's restoration to the English throne, that the policy of Louis had led him to be the principal promoter of the attempt, and he had so regulated his military operations in Flanders as shewed he anticipated its success. His conduct rekindled fresh vigour in his enemies. The people of England, Ireland and Scotland, entered into associations for the defence of their sovereign and his dominions, and the inhabitants of the coast of France were kept in a continual dread of invasion from the English. Louis had exhausted his wealth, and the several confederate powers were tired of a fruitless war; therefore all agreed to accept the mediation of the king of Sweden towards establishing a peace, and a congress was held at Newbrough house, near the village of Ryswick.

Louis had for his object the possession of the crown of Spain, which the declining state of Philip II.'s health led him to expect would soon be vacant; but which he could not dare to attempt during the existing confederacy.



Germany had also an eye to Spain, on which she would have preferred that the alliance should consist. The English and Dutch wished only to restrain France, and to procure an acknowledgment of the treaty: with these different interests the negotiation was interrupted by the death of Charles of Spain, the regency for his son, Charles XII., continued on, and peace was signed at Ryswick. In England there was no standing army at the conclusion of the war, and a serious debate in parliament, and the number was limited to eight thousand. So small an army was considered by William quite unequal to the protection of the kingdom, as he still feared a visit from James; for he knew that James had not disbanded her army, and that James had been coming a candidate for the crown of Poland, which, by the death of John Sobieski; because, he said, he would amount to an abdication of the English crown. The commons, however, carried the measure, as they did a bill for a new East India company. Ireland then called on the house to its wool manufactories, which were the staple trade of England. The commons very properly represented the hardships endured by them in the war, and were promised redress. It appeared that the king had exported different articles for a women manufactory, for which the delinquents were punished by imprisonment, and a fine of sixteen thousand pounds, appropriated to the use of Greenwich Hospital. William, in his view of foreign politics, had advised his commons to his annual visit to the Hague, to keep a standing army of sixteen thousand troops, which so greatly alarmed the commons, that, regardless of the king's motive, they voted to keep all the troops above seven thousand, and all in the kingdom, and they who remained were to be in the king's service. William, who was attached to his guards, and to his refugee regiments, felt this so much, that he was on the point of abandoning the kingdom; but during the following year, government regretted

metropolis. The profligacy of the preceding reign had sown the seeds of vice so profusely, that the general state of morals was perverted; and numerous petitions were presented to his majesty, praying that the laws against blasphemy and Atheism might be put in force. In consequence of the violence still practised by the Jacobites, many of whom were Catholics, a rigorous law was enacted against them, which disabled the followers of that creed from inheriting or purchasing landed property, without previously taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy.

The young duke of Gloucester was now in his eleventh year, and with an amiable disposition and good abilities, was expected, under the direction of his learned preceptor, Burnet, to have acquired the qualifications suited to a monarch; but he caught a malignant fever, of which he died; and as he was the only remaining child to the princess Anne, his death was a subject of regret to the whole nation. The king, when next he met his parliament, recommended to them an act of settlement, by which the succession to the crown should be fixed in the Protestant line. This was immediately done by naming the princess Sophia as the next Protestant heir to the crown, in case of failure of issue from the present king William and the princess Anne.

The duke of Anjou succeeded to the crown of Spain, to which the emperor of Germany, the king of England, and the states general of Holland, engaged in a treaty called "the grand alliance," for the acknowledged purposes of "procuring satisfaction to his imperial majesty in regard to the Spanish succession; the obtaining security to the English and Dutch for their dominions and commerce; the preventing the war between the two great monarchies of France and Spain; the hindering the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America."

Soon after the signing of this treaty, James II., who continued to lead a life of piety for the last six years, at St. Germain's, and, at his own request, was buried in the church of the English Benedictines in Paris. He had made an annual visit to the poor monks of La Trappe, who

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edified by his humble deportment. He recommended a and christian forgiveness to his son during his last a, and died with great marks of devotion.

the death of that unfortunate monarch, the French ail advised Louis to remain neuter, and allow the son of a to assume what title he pleased ; but the dauphin and me de Maintenon advised the king to acknowledge him o the English throne : he was therefore proclaimed king gland at St. Germain's ; and the same title was allowed y the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

a English generally were exceedingly angry at the con- of the French king, which they resented as an insult to ation and to the sovereign, on which account the war st France was renewed.

William, when in Holland, had concerted with his allies the of operation for the next campaign, but he did not live to t executed. His constitution had been sinking under e indisposition, but this he endeavoured to conceal as a as possible ; even during his last illness he seemed to more poignantly the fate of Europe than his own. With et to his character, William neither merited the en- ums of his friends, who have asserted that he possessed y virtue ; nor the severe censure of his enemies, who dressed him in every vice. He was more indebted to ly perseverance, than to peculiar talents, for his high ary reputation. He possessed natural courage, energy ind, and firmness in the execution of his plans. In n he was ungraceful, his manner cold and repulsive, his temper silent and unsocial. He recommended ractice of virtue by his example, but it had little effect en who were corrupted by the licentiousness of the r reigns. In excuse for the intrigues which he entered to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law, a late historian " As William's heart seems to have been as dead to sympathetic feelings, as his soul was insensible to the ns of literature and the beauties of the elegant arts, it is ble that, while he was guiding the great political system, ight be led by the illusions of ambition, under the ap-

pearance of principle, to think the ties of blood and the right of inheritance as necessary sacrifices to the interests of Europe, and the interests of the reformed religion. She was at least, was obliged to him for supporting her side in the grand struggle for liberty and a Protestant succession. She has dearly paid for those blessings, by being the cause of destructive foreign wars, partly, indeed, rendered necessary by the supineness of her two preceding reigns, but which she ought naturally to have had no concern; by the introduction of the infamous practice of corrupting parliament in order to engage them to support those wars; and by the unavoidable consequence, a grievous national debt daily accumulating, and augmenting the weight of government, threatens us with the worst of evils.\*

William expired in his palace at Kensington on the 8th of March, and in the fifty-second year of his age. His body had lain some days in state, it was interred in the VII.'s chapel, Westminster abbey.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### QUEEN ANNE.

IN consequence of an act of settlement to fix the succession in the Protestant line, which passed in the reign of William III., the crown of England devolved, on the death of that monarch, to Anne, second daughter of James II., by her marriage with Anne Hyde. The princess Anne had married in July, 1683, George, second son of Frederick III., of Denmark, and was proclaimed queen of England on the 23rd of April, 1702.

In the queen's first address to the two houses of parliament, she assured them of her zealous support of the Protestant religion, and of the established government in church and state. She uttered her speech with a firmness of

anner that greatly delighted her hearers; but it contained two expressions which were thought very exceptional. She said her "heart was wholly English," which was supposed applied to her predecessor, who was generally thought to have entertained a stronger attachment for the French than he had for the English; and she promised that *she should always find her a strict and religious observer of the word*"—a phrase which had been used by her father, which he neglected to perform. The lords answered her reply by a warm address; the commons sent a message of

gratulations were offered to the queen from every part of her dominions; some of these contained insinuations that were injurious to the memory of William. In the receiving of these she acted with great policy and prudence; answering them in general terms, and in the most gracious manner. The queen issued an immediate proclamation, signifying hereby that all persons in offices under the government should continue until her further commands should be known. She commissioned the earl of Marlborough to assure the states of Holland of her intention to continue the alliance entered into by the late king, and her desire to act in all things for the common interest of England and its allies. In foreign politics, Anne pursued the same system as the late king, so that Louis XIV. had scarcely recovered his paroxysm of joy for the death of William, before he had declarations of war from England, Germany, and the states of Holland; a circumstance which was the more surprising to the French monarch, as he had flattered himself when he lost the enemy whose perseverance had thwarted his ambition, that he should then have been permitted to pursue his conquests: so elated, indeed, were the French nation at the intelligence of king William's death, and so much they would prove a mere temporary rumour, that the messenger who carried the intelligence was confined at Calais, and could not ascertain the truth of his account. The primacy of the anger of Louis being completely beyond the power of the vengeance of the monarch was spent in

words against Messieurs the Dutch merchant declared should one day repent their insolent opposing the career of so potent a monarch.

Few changes took place in the ministry. She had been instructed to consider the Tories as enemies to church and monarchy; but all the allies were preserved. The earl of Marlborough had become a party, and were both known to enjoy her confidence. The prince of Denmark, was appointed regent, and acted by a commission. The queen gave more attention to the affairs of her kingdom; she promoted the union of Scotland with England, and a bill was passed which empowered her majesty to appoint commissioners to treat on that subject, notwithstanding the opposition made by the Tories, who knew that if the prince of Wales, as the son of the late king, should succeed in obtaining the throne, the union must be made in Scotland, which an union with England would certainly frustrate. The parliament presented a civil list, and then proposed the oath of abjuration, which declared, that the son of James II. had not an inheritance in the crown. Great doubts had been entertained regarding the disposition of the Tories to take the oath of them, however, refused compliance, but they excused themselves for the act by signing a paper in which they said, that "right" was a term of law relating to civil rights," and not to a "divine right," or to a sacred right, and, therefore, the oath was only binding during the present state of things.

Societies for the reformation of morals had been encouraged by the late queen Mary, who instituted a society for the instruction of youth, which, after her death, was continued by king William, who added other societies for the propagation of christian knowledge, and for the instruction of missionaries to instruct the infidels in foreign parts. A society which met with great encouragement from king William. Her majesty was employed in arranging the affairs of the

**Abstract**

The following are the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions in the Department of the Interior, under the authority of the President, and who have taken the oath of office:

[illegible]



at a stand, in consequence of many objections which had been raised by the two parties of Queensbury and Hamilton. The first of these favoured the house of Stuart, and had encouraged ~~John~~ Fraser, a Scotsman of profligate character, to be an agent in the French court. The conduct of this man had ~~not~~ <sup>aroused</sup> suspicion; and air John Maclean, having landed in a small boat at Folkestone, in Kent, from France, accompanied by his lady, who had been delivered of a child only eleven days before, became an object of suspicion likewise, and was sent up to London. In the course of his examination, the names of Keith, Ferguson, and others, occurred, all members of the Jacobite party, who appear to have intended, when the result of the war would allow of a treaty with France, to propose terms to the queen, that she should reign during her life, and that the crown should then descend to prince James. The lords appointed a committee of seven to examine all the persons mentioned in this plot; but the commons behaved as though they had no mind to look narrowly into the business. When the queen ordered a copy of the examinations to be laid before them, they passed no judgment on them, neither did they offer their advice to her majesty, though the statements clearly proved that the court of Versailles was willing to send an army in aid of James, and only wished to assure themselves of the assistance they might expect from Scotland. The earl of Nottingham conducted the examination of Maclean, but it appearing that he had not entered an answer to some material questions into his statement, it was voted that Maclean should be re-examined; this, however, was not ruled, and the matter rested, though not satisfactorily.

At the close of this session Marlborough returned to the land, it having been resolved to leave a small army to act on the defensive in the Netherlands, whilst he, with the main army, should proceed up the Rhine. As he was on the eve of being lost to the French, but then having obtained queen Anne's protection, Marlborough proceeded from the Rhine to the Danube, and, in conjunction with prince Eugene, obtained such a complete victory near the village of Blenheim, that most of the

army who were not killed or taken prisoners, were  
 ed in their passage of the Danube. On the return of  
 ough from this campaign, the queen granted to the con-  
 the manor of Woodstock, and ordered the comptroller  
 works to erect for him a magnificent mansion, which,  
 in memoriam of the great victory, received the name of  
 im-house. Sir John Vanburgh, who made the plan  
 edifice, gave to a contemporary artist the opportunity  
 cribing the two following lines for his epitaph, in allusion  
 John's preference of grandeur to elegance in his style  
 ding:

Lie heavy on him, earth, for he  
 Laid many a heavy load on thee.

sea, the English were also victorious. Sir George Rook,  
 return from conveying the archduke Charles to Lisbon,  
 ht his fleet before the strong fortress of Gibraltar, and  
 arded it, but with very little chance of success, until a  
 of intrepid sailors had the boldness to climb up rocks  
 had been supposed inaccessible, and having ascended,  
 ived from the summit the female inhabitants assembled  
 a little chapel dedicated to the Virgin. Seeing they  
 engaged at their devotions, the men rushed suddenly  
 rd to seize them, and the inhabitants choosing rather  
 se the town than be separated from their wives and  
 lters, implored the governor to surrender, and the place  
 immediately committed to the prince of Hesse Darm-  
 for the queen of England. The possession of this port  
 great importance to England in refitting the navy des-  
 to act in that part, as well as to protect our commerce  
 e Mediterranean. Spain employed four months in en-  
 uring to retake it, and then abandoned the enterprise.  
 e ministry was formed of Whigs and Tories, whose  
 g interests created great confusion from their secret  
 s to supplant each other in offices and emoluments; and  
 animosity maintained between the two houses of parlia-  
 induced the queen to dissolve it, and to call a new one.  
 ie interim her majesty, accompanied by prince George,  
 an excursion to Newmarket, and dined at Cambridge.

where she conferred the honour of knighthood on the celebrated Isaac Newton. Marlborough paid a visit to the emperor to Joseph, the new emperor of Germany, his father Leopold having died at Vienna. He was learned and industrious, but deficient in the judgment necessary to the government that was involved in difficulties. Trusting in all his actions, he was incapable of suspecting the motives of others, to whom he often became the dupe. He was merciful to a fault, and could never punish without being urged by the influence of religion. Being succeeded in his military dignities by his eldest son Joseph, who was unable to repair the errors which had been committed in the reign of his father, Marlborough went, at his request, to concert other measures to be adopted in future.

The Tory faction had been for some time on the increase in consequence of their frequent misrepresentation of the continual attempts to censure the transactions of the reign. This gave the Whigs the majority in the parliament, but their enemies lost no opportunity to have thrown difficulties in the way of the government; and when an address was moved to the queen, requesting that she would be pleased to invite the presumptive heir to the throne to a residence in this kingdom. In this they were actuated by malice—as they conjectured, should the motion be carried, it would offend the queen; if negatived, they hoped, she would consider the rejection as a disinclination to the protestant succession. The duke of Buckingham, who formerly made violent professions of attachment to the queen, to shew the necessity of adopting the measure, observed to the queen “might live till she was twice a child, and as much enfeebled in her mind as she was in her body.” All this malevolence passed almost unnoticed, as did the monstrosity on the management of the navy.

The successes of Charles III. of Spain afforded assurance to the parliament; with the assistance of the duke of Peterborough, Barcelona had submitted, and the kingdom of Spain was in a fair way of being recovered to the protestants, while the confederate army on the coast

fresh laurels, notwithstanding the renewed exertions of the French monarch, who had reinforced his troops in order, with the hope of rendering their appearance formidable to the allies. The armies under Marlborough obtained another complete victory at Ramillies, from which the French troops retired in the greatest discontent to Paris, and the allies during that campaign became masters of every place between Louvaine and Ostend. In vain Louis affect composure; such unexpected losses undermined his health; and the utmost silence respecting military affairs was observed in the French court. Weary of this unsuccessful war, the French monarch sought for a cessation of hostilities; but as the confederates had reasons for doubting his sincerity, and as he offered only half of Spain, the entire recovery of which was considered to be the primary object of the war, his proposals were rejected, and the allies prepared to pursue the contest with fresh vigour.

The session ended with a triumphant procession to St. Paul's cathedral, where a sermon was preached by the bishop of Salisbury, and the trophies of victory brought from the field of Ramillies were displayed in Guildhall; as those taken at Blenheim had been before placed in Westminster hall. In the attempt to besiege Toulon, England sustained the loss of some ships off the rocks of Scilly, in one of which was the brave commander of the fleet, sir Cloudesly Shovel. The body of this admiral was found buried in the sand, and being taken to Plymouth was conveyed to London, and interred in Westminster abbey, where, by order of the queen, a monument was erected over his remains. This gentleman had sprung from humble origin in the county of Suffolk, and by his eminent virtues and his personal merit had acquired, without any particular patron, the highest station in the British navy.

The union of Scotland and England was warmly debated this session; it had been strongly opposed in the Scottish parliament on the grounds of the antiquity and dignity of their kingdom; but the ministerial party at length carried it: the earl of Stair died suddenly in the night after the final

debate, and his death was attributed to the extreme he had used in favour of the union.

As soon as the act of union had passed there, it was before the English parliament, and was soon completed: two kingdoms were united under the name of Great Britain, to be represented by one parliament, and both to have like privileges and rights; to take place on the 1. of January, until which time the two kingdoms were to be connected, and the two parliaments, till then, were allowed to sit. In the opposition made to this measure were the king and the house of Stuart, and many Scotsmen who had patriotic feelings. Among the latter was Andrew Saltoun, who bore the character of incorruptible integrity. He had tried every means in his power to prevent them from thinking it impossible that his countrymen could be brought to cede their monarchy, unless seduced by gold, he determined not to live longer amongst them ready to depart, some of his intimate friends asked him, "Will you forsake your country?" To which he replied, "is only fit for the slaves who sold it!" and putting on his horse, set forward on his voluntary exile never to return.

The aversion which the population of Scotland entertained against the union received very considerable aggravation from the conduct of the English government, which neglected to make timely arrangements for the completion of the union, so that the trade of Scotland was stopped for three months through the omission of the necessary measures required for bringing things into their proper course: the new ships were not filled up at the time appointed, nor the money, which had been agreed on as the equivalent for the land. This delay, and the known intercourse carried on between a powerful party in Scotland with the court, and the public celebration of prince James's entry into Edinburgh, were all sources of jealousy to the people. They attributed these matters to the intrigues of the English minister, Mr. Harley, afterwards created lord Oxford, who had resolved upon supplying

ready tool for his purpose in Mrs. Masham, chamber to the queen. She was a personess of Sarah, duchess of Marlborough, had state of indigence, and by her influence present situation. The duchess was the of her majesty, but Masham had the art to enefactress in her majesty's confidence, by ations in the ear of her royal mistress, "that scripher in the hands of the Whigs, and that s purposely shut out from any part of the or give greater power to the duke of Marl- land Godolphin; but that the Tories were her da, and that if their influence prevailed, it ad there was not a Jacobite in the whole nation, be for the queen's majesty." This language effect on the queen, who was naturally inclined which completely changed her opinions of the of the ministry. She wholly confided in his political friends, Henry St. John, afterwards ard Bolingbroke, a man of great eloquence, and tion, enterprising, restless, and haughty, possess- wit, and little principle; and sir Simon Harcourt, of great abilities. These men formed a separate the discovery of a correspondence with France ed the queen's sentiments in their favour.

on named Gregg, who had been discharged from of the queen's envoy in Portugal, had been by Harley, who took him without inquiry into his conduct. This man had been permitted to peruse seal up the letters of the French prisoners, which at open to the treasurer's office to be forwarded, and himself of this means to hold a correspondence with French court. He copied a letter which had been by the queen to the emperor of Austria, in which she a sending prince Eugene, to aid the cause of his Charles in Spain. The king of France acted on intelligence, but the circumstance becoming known to enough, the writer was secured, made a confession of

at the head of his father's dragoons with great intrepidity; his horse was shot under him, but nothing proved discouraging to his martial disposition. The strong and important city of Lisle capitulated after braving a long siege; the example of this fortress was followed by the surrender of Ghent and Bruges on the last day of December, which concluded the campaign; and the army had just reached its winter quarters before the setting in of a long frost, which continued with extreme severity for four months, so that the soldiers could have perished had they remained during that inclement season in the field.

Prince George of Denmark, who had been for many years troubled with an asthma, died in October, in his fifty-sixth year. He had been unhappily led to accept the office of high admiral at the request of a party who well knew that he was unequal to it, and who frequently used his name to cover their own misconduct. In disposition this prince was mild, and free from any vice; he had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and had acquired much knowledge, which, from an awkwardness of manner, he was not well able to express. He was not fond of interfering in business, but was too readily persuaded by others, for one who was so near the throne. The queen was an affectionate wife, so unremitting in her attentions, and so careful of his health, that she frequently lay up with him during the greatest part of the night.

The office of high admiral was given to the earl of Pembroke, who, finding it a post of exceeding great difficulty, resigned it in less than a year; it was then put into commission with the earl of Oxford at the head.

The business which occupied the attention of this session of parliament was of itself trifling, but its consequences were highly important, as tending to convince the nation of the queen's altered opinions, which led to an entire change of the ministry. Dr. Henry Sacheverel, a man of weak judgment and strong imagination, who exerted as a high churchman might have died away unnoticed, but for the impetuosity attached to it in the praises bestowed by the Tories.

He preached a sermon at St. Bartholomew's, Southwark, on a

member, in which he defended with great violence the  
 ne of passive obedience and non-resistance, for which  
 populace regarded him as the champion and defender of  
 church. The bringing Sacheverel to a public trial was  
 sult of private pique in Godolphin, whom the preacher  
 itirized under the name of Valpone. Here the minister  
 ed from his usual mode of caution, and had reason to  
 the indulgence of a private feeling that was unworthy  
 a, and led to the triumph of the opposite party, whose  
 ing influence succeeded in procuring the disgrace of the  
 . The apparent mover in the cause against Sacheverel  
 r. Dolben, a member of parliament, and partisan of the  
 ry. He complained to the house of the sermon, and  
 read the offensive parts to them, the preacher was  
 ched, and tried in Westminster Hall on the charge of  
 reason. The trial, which lasted three weeks, was daily  
 led by the queen, and engrossed all the public attention.  
 alprit was found guilty by the commons, but a protest  
 entered by the peers, Sacheverel was prohibited preach-  
 or three years, and his sermons were publicly burnt; but  
 mity of this sentence was considered a triumph by the  
 a.

cheverel was presented with a benefice in North Wales,  
 went to take possession of it. At Bridgnorth he was met  
 Mr. Cresswell, at the head of many thousand persons,  
 big white knots edged with gold; the hedges were de-  
 ed with flowers, flags waved from the steeples on his  
 tress, and he was entertained with a magnificence that had  
 been exceeded in the journies of princes. This trans-  
 was followed by a dissolution of the parliament, which  
 to the nation an opportunity of choosing its own repre-  
 tives, and there appeared an unanimity of opinion against  
 Whigs. Interests changed, and scarcely one of that party  
 ed influence or power, except the duke of Marlborough,  
 he was allowed to remain in his station only until some  
 rable opportunity occurred for his dismissal, without  
 offence to the allies.

making it needful to satisfy the nation that there had  
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existed cause for this change, the failure of the flight in Spain, at the battle of Almanza, was attributed to the fault of the late ministry, who, it was said, had sent fourteen thousand men to Spain, though the parliament voted twenty-nine thousand to be sent on that day. This sufficed to affix a stain on their measures, but the inquiries been pursued further, it would have been ascertained that the period between the passing of the bill and the battle of Almanza was not sufficient for the transports to arrive there.

This the opposite party endeavoured to show, but overpowered by influence, which caused bishop Hutton's "History of his own Times," to make a remark which had been equally verified in succeeding times, "That resolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating is a piece of form, used to come at the question of decency."

Harley, who was the primary mover in the case, introduced members into various other inquiries, all bearing on the same point, to affix a stain on the late ministry. His purpose, practices which had been conceived at by since the period of the restoration were adduced as a source of complaint, and which were still continued; the public being thus blinded, were fully disposed to receive the opinions of their governors.

When the duke of Marlborough returned from Spain, he found his duchess so much under the influence of pleasure, that he required her to resign her offices of the robes and keeper of the privy purse, in which she acquitted herself with equal fidelity to the queen as to the persons of the household. The first was given to the duchess of Somerset, the latter to Mrs. Masham. He was now created earl of Oxford. In the present

it was stated, that he had redeemed the nation, and it was otherwise so flattering, that in a petition of the patent being read in the house, it was printed, and a copy of it sent to each of

seemed to be pretty well fixed, and the duke of Marlborough, who took little notice of the taunts of his opponents, was prepared to head the troops in Flanders, where he gained immortal honour by passing the French lines near Maastricht, when his army was inferior in number to that of the French, and the thing reckoned so impracticable, that Villars, contrary to his royal master, boasted that he had put a *seul* to Marlborough. Indeed, it was generally said, that the capture of Bouchain displayed a greater knowledge of military operations, than had been performed by other general.

It was during this session which gave precedence of English nobility to the electoral family of Hanover, as sons and nephews of the crown. On the return of Marlborough, the queen had a short interview with him, in which she told the general, he was not to expect the thanks of both houses, as had been given on former occasions. A correspondence was carrying on between the courts of England and France, respecting the preliminaries of a peace, without any previous adjustment with the allies. Marlborough, disapproved of the proposals, as not being sufficiently advantageous to the English, whose money had been the support of the war, spoke against the measure to the queen; but her majesty was led by the Tory party, who were friends of the duke, and accused him of protracting the war for self-interested motives. Having sought an opportunity to give the queen of his services, the commons, after the queen entered into a scrutiny of the public accounts; they entered with Walpole, secretary of war, who, by his firm defence of the Whig ministry, had rendered himself the subject of dislike to the Tories; and they were determined to get rid of him, and by some frivolous pretext of an act of bribery, which they could not prove, they succeeded in displacing him: an attempt led to an important discovery. It appeared that a Jew contractor for furnishing bread to the army in Flanders had been in the habit of giving a yearly present to the duke of Marlborough, of between five and six thousand pounds. This was pronounced a fraud, for which the queen

instituted an action to recover the money, as also another action for the sum of fifteen thousand pounds, which her majesty had, by her special warrant, authorized the general to receive, from the pay of the foreign troops. The commons voted these practices of the duke of Marlborough to have been unwarrantable and illegal, and the queen discharged him from all his employments. This hasty measure towards a commander who had never undertaken a siege which he did not gain, nor engage in a battle in which he did not come off with victory, proved the instability of the favour of princes; but there were few persons who had not discernment to see that the true cause of his disgrace was the result of his opposition to the court party. When the lords in their late address to the queen observed, that no peace could be safe or honourable, if Spain and the Indies were allowed to remain with any branch of the house of Bourbon, her majesty saw an immediate necessity for dismissing the duke of Marlborough, who was known to be the mover of the offensive clause: on that occasion the power of the ministry was strengthened by raising twelve of their particular friends to the peerage.

The command of the army was given to the duke of Ormond, and he repaired to the Hague with the queen's orders to act only on the defensive; meanwhile the queen opened the parliament with a speech, in which she said, "Notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and place for treating of a general peace were fixed."

Mr. St. John, who had been made viscount Bolingbroke, was managing the preliminaries of peace at Paris, and the beginning of this year a congress had met at Utrecht, where numberless difficulties arose from the clashing interests of the different parties, and to which the enmities and jealousies of the negotiators added not a little. The English wished to do justice to their country, but there was an important difference in the opinions of their own leaders, Oxford and Bolingbroke; for although they had always professed similar principles and designs, with respect to

kind of system to be pursued, they discovered, when they had conquered their public opponents, that they cordially hated each other. Oxford was moderate, and desirous to keep the succession in the Hanoverian line; while Bolingbroke, more enterprising and vigorous, entertained some hopes of bringing back the Stuarts. Their operations therefore required sufficient space to cover two opposite designs, and it was in vain that the friends of each endeavoured to keep them united\*.

\* Though the adherents of the Pretender had found cause to believe that the king of France, when he sent troops to Scotland in 1708, had arranged measures with his minister to counteract their landing, and therefore, that his professions of friendship were insincere, yet after that failure their hopes were fed with promises from France; so that party spirit was not allowed to abate, and the cause of the Pretender was kept up as a rallying word to the dissatisfied and the disaffected. It served the ministers at home, when they found it convenient to intimidate the monarch; and was used by the hostile faction when they wanted a pretext for rebellion. That the very worst species of intrigue was carried on with the knowledge of the ministers of England and France will be proved by the following letter, written by Mr. Watson to the earl of Middleton, (secretary of state to the Pretender) dated June 12, 1712.

" This is to tell you that I writ by the last post, and that the enclosed is for the doctor, with a new key, that the old one may not be discovered.

*Cypher or Key to the following paper:—*

Richard	.	.	.	is	The King.
Thomas	.	.	.	—	Princess Anne.
Lawyers	.	.	.	—	The ministry,
Troops	.	.	.	—	The parliament.
Tartars	.	.	.	—	The Whigs.
Janissaries	.	.	.	—	The Tories.
Crassus	.	.	.	—	Hanover.
Croesus	.	.	.	—	Marlborough.
Pedlars	.	.	.	—	Hollanders.
Letter of attorney	.	.	.	—	Treaty.
Sir Roger	.	.	.	—	London.
Canaan	.	.	.	—	Jones.
Marriage	.	.	.	—	Union.
Augures	.	.	.	—	Bishops.

" There is nothing more frivolous than to go about to prove what carries a clear evidence along with it.

" What is more evident than that Crassus, with the Pedlars and the Tartars, have declared against Thomas and his Lawyers, and that there is no means to ward that blow but by doing justice to Richard! One must want both sense and manners to mistrust such eminent persons; and it would be as absurd to instruct them in the ways and means of managing a matter so necessary for their own security, and the advantage of their Pupil Canaan. As for instance, would it not be a strange presumption to tell them that delays are dangerous; that if Thomas should die, whom God preserve, Crassus must certainly get possession, because the degrees made in his favour, though unjust, could never in that case be reversed; that Richard is a person of too much spirit to submit, but would immediately appear armed with equity, and supported by many good friends and relations, to assert his right; so that the estate in debate would be

Debates arose in the house respecting the conduct of Ormond, who found himself compelled to write to the queen for permission to act in conjunction with prince Eugén; indeed, so much dissatisfaction was expressed by the deputies of the states on learning that the allies were only to act on the defensive, that the duke regretted having accepted the command of the army. When the queen made the terms of peace known to the parliament, the people were not backward in expressing their indignation. The allies would gladly have continued the war, but knowing they were unequal to the contest, if deprived of the powerful aid of Britain, the Dutch first acceded to the terms of pacification agreed between England and France. The duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal followed their example; and the emperor Charles, who, on his accession to the government of Austria on the death of his brother Joseph in 1711, had left his consort behind to protect his rights in Spain, now finding himself unequal to carry on his military operations there without the aid of English troops, consented to evacuate Catalonia, and thus indirectly acknowledged the claim of Philip to the monarchy of Spain; but he still refused to sign the treaty of Utrecht, which was completed on the last day of March, in the year 1713, and was signed by the powers of France, England, Portugal, Prussia,

utterly ruined, and the present Lawyers could not escape the rage of the Tartars; and that though Cræsus be not so desperate, yet it cannot be doubted but he wishes to have made better use of his time.

"That the surest way to prevent these miseries is for Thomas to send a letter to his attorney to his brother Richard, and when that is signed to call him home immediately when the troops are dispersed in their respective quarters; that this merry meeting must be at sir Roger's, to make it more solemn and secure, by surprising the Turkish their head-quarters by a good guard of Janissaries; that those who never had a thought of Richard would crowd to embrace him and tell him, as they did in the 'that it is the happy day they all wished for;' that when the troops were assembled and the brothers should appear together, they no doubt would not only as if the had been done, but would make a secure title to the estate; that it would be dangerous to begin with the troops, for besides the case of mortality already mentioned, they are fickle and humorsome, and even the Janissaries themselves are jealous of one another."

"That there is more prudence, and as much courage, shown in preventing by running into it; many great occasions have been lost by too much caution; by stealing a march the secret is kept, and the enemy found unprepared; to prevent and purpose Richard should be as advantageously posted as can be, to prevent Cræsus in case of the worst. These considerations, and many more, would be offered to such vigilant, clear-sighted lawyers, which is the beginning of this scribble."—*Stuart Papers.*

, and the United Provinces. England required that the Pretender should quit France\*.

By this treaty, Philip king of Spain renounced all right to the throne of France. His brother, the duke de Berri, renounced all claim to the crown of Spain, in the case of his dying king of France; the duke of Savoy was to possess the Piedmont with the title of king. The Dutch had the barrier which they wished; the fortifications of Dunkirk were destroyed, Spain gave up Gibraltar and Minorca, and France renounced her claims to Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and Nova Scotia. The king of Prussia held Upper Guelderland; and the Emperor, if he acceded to the treaty, was to have the Kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands.

The Earl of Godolphin died during the negotiation; he is considered by a contemporary to have had the clearest head, and to have been the most upright minister of his time. After the nobleman's death, the duke and duchess of Marlborough departed beyond sea, upon which occasion the actions which

are contained in the letter written by the Pretender to His most Christian Majesty Louis XIV., previous to his going to Lorraine.

“ *Chalons sur Mer, Feb. 18th, 1713.*”

“What terms shall I employ to express my gratitude to your majesty, before I quit the asylum which you have been pleased to grant me almost ever since I was banished, and which you do not permit me to leave, but in order to procure for me another asylum, in the present state of your affairs and of my own? Words fail me to express how my heart is penetrated, by the remembrance of your majesty's beneficence and your kindness towards me. The care you are now pleased to take of me, and of my concerns me, crowns the whole, and encourages me, in the sad situation I am in, by the confidence I have in a generosity that has no example for its continuance, from which is accustomed to accomplish the greatest designs, and in a bounty which unweariedly extends itself to me and to my family.

“With all possible earnestness that I request your majesty for the continuance of your favour to me and the queen my mother; the only person who is left of all those who were dear to me, and who deserves so much of me, as the best of mothers. Besides, I do not fall short of me, in the sentiments of gratitude to your majesty, which she herself inspired me from my tenderest years.

“I have assured your majesty of my most sincere and fervent wishes for your health and happiness, I have nothing further to say, but to conjure your majesty to be fully persuaded, that you will always find in me the respect, attachment, and affection to say, the tenderness of a son, a will always ready not only to follow, but to go before your own, in all things, during the time of my exile; and if I shall be myself restored to my dominions, a faithful ally, who will make it his glory and honour to concur with the first designs of a king, who does honour to royalty.”—  
Mansfeldt.

had been instituted by the queen's order against the date were stopped. Nothing now remained of the advantages of those great battles which had claimed so much attention during the greater part of this reign, but the names; even he, by whose superior skill and valour they were gained, did not enjoy the gratitude of his country.

The conditions of the peace were by no means satisfactory to the English nation, nor to the allies, who considered them formed without a due regard to the objects of the war. Bolingbroke, who was the principal agent in the secret negotiations, acknowledged in his correspondence with sir William Wyndham, "that he feared their principal views (meaning the ministry) in their stipulations, were, *the preservation of power in their own hands, great employments for themselves, and great opportunities for rewarding those who had helped to raise them.*"

The ministers possessed the confidence of their sovereign, and the ablest writers of the age were engaged to advocate their cause\*.

A new parliament having been called, the elections were so contrived as to return a majority of Tory members, but its meeting was protracted in consequence of the queen's indisposition and the contests of her ambitious ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke; the latter had gained the favour of lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of offence. It was evident Oxford lost ground in the public esteem, and the queen saw his decline with such secret displeasure that it materially affected her health. It was rumoured that he had resolved on retiring; the first intimation of this intention appeared in "the Examiner," a periodical paper written by Dr. Swift.

The dissensions of party spread from the ministers to the people, and the usual cry that the church was in danger animated those who were most zealous for the protestant succession to move an address to the queen, that she would issue

\* Mr. Richard Steele, a Whig, and the friend of Walpole, wrote in favour of his party, and was answered by the pen of Swift, who obtained a deanery in Ireland, for his literary support of ministerial measures.

a proclamation offering a reward for the apprehension of the Pretender, in case he should attempt to land in Great Britain. To which her majesty replied, that she saw no occasion for such proclamations, and exhorted her subjects to dispel those needless fears and jealousies, the encouraging of which tended to weaken the government. An application soon after from baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, to obtain a writ from the chancellor, for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, with a view to his residence in England, gave serious offence to the queen, and she addressed the following letter to the prince:—

“ COUSIN,

“ An accident which has happened in my lord Paget’s family, having hindered him from setting forward so soon as he thought to have done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my kingdoms: as the opening of the matter ought to have been made to me, so I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the electoral house to which you belong, that I should tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my dominions, and the right of succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

“ I am, with great friendship,

“ Your affectionate Cousin,

“ ANNE R.”

To the duke of Buckingham, who solicited the queen to adopt some plan favourable to the establishment of the Pretender on the throne of his ancestors, her majesty showed a disposition to do so, on the condition of his becoming a protestant, and said to the duke, “ You know a papist cannot enjoy this crown in peace.” When the substance of the queen’s opinion was made known to the Pretender, he resolved to adhere to the faith in which he had been bred



the most urgent entreaties of his party could never shake his belief, or induce him to act the hypocrite and appear what he was not \*.

In the month of May princess Sophia died, in the eighth year of her age. She was the daughter of Frederick elector palatine, the king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James I. The contest between the rival ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke, rose to such a pitch after the signing of the foreign treaties, when they thought there was no longer any cause for restraint, that they recriminated each other in letters to the queen; and Oxford was accused of having discovered the queen's councils to Hanover, and to have advised the duke of Cambridge's residence in England. Oxford was deprived of his offices; and to Bolingbroke was left the triumph of victory over his rival. The confusion occasioned at court by this event, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council, so seriously affected the queen, who had latterly been afflicted with gout, as well as with an aguish complaint, that her majesty was seized with strong lethargic symptoms that produced the greatest alarm. Occasion was taken during a lucid interval, to impress upon her majesty the propriety of nominating a successor to lord Oxford; and her majesty, in conjunction with the wishes of her council, appointed the duke of Shrewsbury to fill the office of treasurer. The last six months had been a period of unceasing anxiety to the queen, and of great danger to the nation, from the three parties that agitated the kingdom; these were, the Jacobites, the Tories, and the Whigs. With the first of them Bolingbroke had held correspondence; but whether to frustrate, or to further, their views, his natural love of intrigue

\* In a letter written in his own hand, and copied by Nairn, his under secretary, bearing date March the 13th, 1714, the Pretender says:—

“On the subject of religion, I have nothing to add but that I neither want nor advice to remain unalterable in my fixt resolution, of never dissembling religion; but rather to abandon all than act against my conscience and honour, if it will. These are my sentiments; and had I others, or should I act contrary I have, where is the man of honour that would trust me? and how could subjects depend upon me? or be happy under me, if I should make use of serious hypocrisy to get myself amongst them? I know their generous character, not but detest both the crime itself, and him that should be guilty of it.”—Stearns

ed doubtful. The two latter, on learning the dangerous of the queen, acted in conjunction for their general y; so that every means was adopted to ease the public and to secure the succession of the elector of Hanover.

queen's illness, which began on the 29th of July, ed so rapidly, that, notwithstanding the efforts of the eminent physicians, her majesty expired on the 1st day agust, in the fiftieth year of her age. Queen Anne was ed in a vault towards the east end of Henry VII.'s el. By her husband, prince George of Denmark, Anna six children, who all died young.

A person Anne was of the middle stature; she had regular res, but her countenance was more pleasing than hand- e. As a sovereign she wanted firmness; her disposition gentle, and she relied too much on the opinions of others, rendered her conduct vacillating, according as her ters changed their systems of intrigue. Her voice was t and melodious, and she delivered her speeches with and grace. She possessed many private virtues and at qualities, of which mercy was so pre-eminent, that ver permitted a subject to suffer for treason during her but she was indebted to the times in which she lived character she sustained. The splendid victories of her s were calculated to render her popular, and the able of several of her ministers attracted the attention, and, at measure, controlled the events of Europe.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### GEORGE I.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Queen Anne the attempt of the who by the regency bill held the executive power, and the privy council, and George, was at first the first elector of Brunswick by the William of Orange, nephew to James II., was proclaimed king in London.

don, Edinburgh, and Dublin, without any attempt at opposition. The earl of Dorset repaired to Hanover with the news, and to attend the king of England. As the king did not set out immediately, the delay was attributed to his prudence in previously concerting measures with the English ministry: for the two parties of Whig and Tory received each an assurance of encouragement from the monarch: a Whig administration was, however, formed, with the admission of only one Tory, the earl of Nottingham. The government regency in this interim made Addison their secretary, and obliged Bolingbroke, the former secretary, to wait at the door with his papers. Townshend afterwards was appointed to the office, and took the lead in the administration. He was the son of sir Horatio Townshend, who was actively instrumental in bringing about the restoration of king Charles II.; his high situations had gained him notice, and the integrity with which he filled them had established his character. He was noble and generous, but bold and enterprising; so that his measures often needed the temperate disposition of Walpole to counteract their impetuous tendency. These two men had grown up in the strictest intimacy; they were neighbours, (their country seats being contiguous) had been students in the same college, had adopted the same political principles, and co-operated in the same opposition to the Tory faction. To them was committed the task of forming the new ministry.

On the 18th of September, George I., then in his fifty-fifth year, landed at Greenwich, where he was met by a vast concourse of the English nobility. The first appearance of the monarch was not calculated to inspire his subjects with any great degree of admiration; for though he had a benign countenance, it wanted expression, and he was below the middle stature; ignorant of the language of his new subjects, and, far from possessing a graceful address, it was evident that the shouts of the people annoyed rather than gratified him.

The prince of Wales accompanied his father; and in the beginning of October the princess of Wales arrived, with her two daughters, Anne and Amelia; the princess Carolina was

to remain in Hanover on account of her health till the following, when she also joined the royal family in Eng-

On the 20th of October king George I. was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnities.

Before the former period had the European states been so situated. The peace of Utrecht was far from prov-  
isfactory to the allies, who found it had been hastily  
made, without due regard to the objects of the war. The  
fact that business had conducted the negotiations secretly;  
when, accidentally, any discovery was made, there ap-  
peared a disposition to favour France, which caused the sin-  
cerity of Bolingbroke to be greatly suspected. To those who  
saw the king, by his selection of his ministry, was made  
up with the Whigs, it must be observed, that the invete-  
rations of the two leading factions rendered it impossible  
they should assimilate together; therefore, for the peace of  
the nation, it was needful that one party should possess the  
dominant power. With respect to the internal state of the  
kingdom, the Tories would have had no objection to have  
seen the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of the  
elder, provided he would have embraced the protestant  
religion, while the Whigs were resolved not to receive him on  
any terms.

Among the foreign nations Prussia was inclined to promote the  
interests of George I.; its reigning monarch, Frederic Wil-  
helm had married Sophia Dorothea, the daughter of George,  
therefore felt the cause of the English monarch to be his  
own. In Holland, the states conceived it their interest to  
support the views of the new king, and received him as he  
passed through their country with every demonstration of joy  
and respect. But in France, Louis XIV., though he had  
acknowledged the right of the house of Hanover to the English  
throne, looked with complacency on the exertions which the  
elder was making in his kingdom, and would have been  
glad, had an insurrection given him the opportunity, to  
actively favoured his views; as would also his grandson,  
Philip V. of Spain.

The emperor of Austria had not yet overcome his displeasure at

the terms imposed upon him by the treaty of Utrecht, and John of Portugal was inclined to follow the politics of the French court: while Charles of Sweden would willingly have opposed the succession of George, but that he was involved in a war with the northern countries of Russia and Denmark.

In Poland, Augustus could only be considered a cipher under the guidance of Peter the Great, who entertained a jealousy towards the English monarch, which waited only time and opportunity to appear in open hostilities. Frederic of Denmark was in no circumstances to be more than a passive friend; and pope Clement XI. possessed neither influence nor power to oppose the succession of the protestant line, and could offer nothing more than an asylum to the unthroned prince. But Victor Amadeus, the reigning prince of Savoy and Piedmont, was ambitious, and followed the policy of his predecessors in selling his assistance to those who bid the highest; he had never omitted any opportunity of adding to his strength by such acquisitions as he could obtain without exciting the angry feelings of his neighbours, and he had experienced the beneficent kindness of the late queen in the treaty of Utrecht, since, by the exertions of Anne, he had been favoured with the kingdom of Sicily. His consort, Anna Maria, was the grand-daughter of Charles I.; and after the children of James II. she was the next in succession to the crown of England, and had protested against the act of succession as contrary to her right. They therefore considered that the elector of Hanover had usurped a crown which, by hereditary descent, belonged to their son. Thus it appears that the new king had more enemies than friends among the crowned heads of Europe.

At the opening of the new parliament the addresses of both houses teemed with severe comments on the acts of the late administration. That of the house of commons was drawn up by Walpole, who had risen in public opinion during the whole of the last reign: it contained this passage: "It is with just resentment we observe that the Pretender still resides in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to

and; but that which raises the utmost indignation of commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were upon the measures that had been taken for some time Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring home of them to condign punishment\*.”

The result of this step was the forming a secret committee, in which Walpole was the chairman, to examine into the conduct of the late ministry. The papers relating to the negotiation for peace having been examined, and the report of the committee read, Walpole proceeded to impeach lord Bolingbroke of high treason: upon which lord Coningsby rose up, and said, “The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the servant, I impeach the master;” and he impeached Robert Walpole of high treason.

In this session a bill was passed which gave to his majesty the same amount for the civil list as in the late reign, and a allowance of the arrears due to the Hanoverian troops in the service of Great Britain; also an offer of one hundred thousand pounds from the treasury to any person who should assist the Pretender in landing, or in attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions. Meantime the committee of secrecy was pursuing its inquiry. Lord Oxford continued his prosecution and defended his cause with a brave spirit. As he had ever been a strenuous supporter of protestant succession; the proceeding against him was not to derive its source from the personal vengeance of king, and a powerful opposition was made to the bill of attainder against him; however, he was committed to the Tower, there to remain until his trial. The bill against lord Bolingbroke passed with little opposition; but as neither he, nor the duke of Ormond, who was also included in the attainder, appeared within the limited period, their possessions were confiscated to the crown.

Lord Bolingbroke had many sincere friends who were well disposed to act as mediators in his cause; but, instead of listening to

\* Cox's Life of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. p. 110.

their advice, he affected to adopt a system of independence which was insulting to his sovereign, and he secretly withdrew from the kingdom. Bolingbroke had formed a league with the duke of Brunswick to assist him in placing the Pretender on the throne. Under a pretext of seeking the protection of France, he went in the disguise of a servant to one of the messengers of the French king, and retired to the city of Lyons, not liking to appear publicly at this crisis in his own character; but after a stay of a few months, he went to Paris to enter on his office of secretary of state to the Pretender. Whatever might have been the original motive for the prosecution of the late ministry, a manifesto, dated the 29th of August, and which reached England in November, greatly increased the animosity of the Whigs against the friends of the Pretender†.

Copies of these notes were received by many of the principal officers of state, and by several of the nobility in England, upon which notice was sent from the secretary's office to the marquis de Lamberti, forbidding his appearance at court. He was minister to the duke of Lorraine, and it was supposed that the duke, his master, must have been acquainted with the circumstance. The duke pleaded in excuse the peculiar situation

\* "Le Roi Jaques, qu'il avoit vu à Bar, lui avoit donné les Sceaux de Secrétaire d'Etat."—*Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, tom. ii., p. 213.

† When the Pretender was informed of the death of queen Anne, he immediately proceeded from his residence at Bar-le-duc in Lorraine, to Paris, in cog.; to consult with his mother and friends respecting his going to England to assert his claims. Louis XIV. on hearing that the prince was in Paris, commanded M. de Torci to go and dissuade him from the enterprise, and, if necessary, to compel his return to Lorraine: the measure was not used. The Pretender proceeded to Plombières, from whence he published a manifesto in English, Latin, and French, signed at the top J. R., and dated Plombières, 29th August, 1714, asserting his claims to the crown of Great Britain. He says, "The revolution ruined the English monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the sovereign power on the people." He observes, "when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without regard to him, he published in April, 1712, his protestation against it," and that the reason of his sitting still so long, in the following words: "Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princess our sister (of whose good intentions we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we were still, expecting the good effects thereof; which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death,) we found that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving their ancient and true interests of their country, by doing us and their king, a foreign prince, to our people, the same mortal and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which they cannot ever abrogate."—TINDAL, vol. ii., p. 408.

IT. : THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY  
 OF THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT  
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 charge in Tindal, vol. i. page 474

Aberdeen general Gordon was soon informed  
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of Mar afterwards published a statement of his conduct  
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broke in Paris with instructions to supply, & proceeded to take the command in Scotland; he found all in disorder; the army, which amounted to sixteen thousand men, was of the number of five thousand; and they had no money and necessaries. The promises of the king were unperformed, and nothing was done. James complained that she and her friends were in her son's affairs. The duke of Orleans, regent for France, affected to favour the feigned reluctance while he was completing the designs of the Jacobites by seizing the ships with arms and ammunition for the service of Scotland; a step, of all others, the most dangerous to the cause. But even this did not annihilate the Pretender or his adherents, until the cause was damped by the active exertions of the king, who advanced with the royal forces, and took measures to dislodge the rebels from Perth, which was successful; after that, the marquess of Huntly and several other Scottish noblemen, left the rest to the defence of their own territories. The

the Pretender left Scotland he proceeded to Paris, and removed lord Bolingbroke from the office of his secretary on an impression that his lordship had been negligent part of his duty which promised his sending supplies early, he retired privately for a week to St. Germain's: passed some days at Neuilly, and going from thence on, he there waited to hear from the duke of Lorraine. The latter, having made some difficulty regarding the Pretender's return to his territory, the prince went to Paris, at which place he was soon joined by the earl of Mar and the duke of Ormond, and several other friends. In consequence of Bolingbroke's dismissal, a correspondence took place on the subject between his secretary Mr. Brinsden, and James Murray, afterwards made by the Pretender, earl of Mar. This interesting correspondence was printed in London in 1735, but was immediately suppressed. It may be seen at large in Tindal, vol. ii. page 476.

Aberdeen general Gordon sent two hundred persons, ordered to get to the continent; then taking the small remainder of the army through Strathspey to the hill of Mar, he dismissed them, and they went peaceably to their homes. Thus ended a rebellion which was the fruit of the intrigues formed in the latter years of queen Anne's reign, for the purpose of re-establishing the Stuart British throne\*. Whether such a measure might

James of Mar afterwards published a statement of these transactions at Paris, and from that account that all parties were deceived; in that, he says, previous to the Pretender's arrival in Scotland, it had been asserted (privately among his truest friends) that with their present resources they should be unable to contend with the king. On the arrival of James no new succours came; it was evident therefore in whom he had depended, either were insincere, or wanted courage for the cause. Having been obliged to quit Perth on account of the near approach of the king, they proceeded to Montrose, and there waited some days in expectation of the king's arrival at that port. Finding themselves certain that they must be overpowered in battle, and that there came no news of rising in England, the Pretender's friends advised his immediate departure beyond sea, to which advice he reluctantly consented; he departed in a small ship from that harbour, leaving the command of the army to general Gordon, with full power to capitulate and treat with the enemy. In the king's statement is the following passage, "And when it comes to be known to the world (as some time or other it may) what encouragements there were at home, and how much was to be expected and hope for success in this great, good, and necessary undertaking, it will not appear a chimerical, rash, or ill-grounded undertaking; and its

have conduced to the greater happiness of England ever remain a matter of mere opinion; since still of actual experience can prove how far a king, who dictates a conduct contrary to the promises required in security for the established institutions of church and state, could have steered the government free from religious persecution and civil warfare. Of this we are certain, evils were avoided by the accession of the house of Stuart. The parliament of Ireland, in order to give a full proof of loyalty to George I., engaged in an address to support the protestant succession. The two houses of the British parliament presented addresses of thanks to the king's majesty; and the commons declared their intention to expel the enemies of the crown, in justice to their country. Mr. Forster from the house, and impeached of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Carnwath, and also the lords Widdington, Kenmuir, and Nairn with the exception of Winton, who obtained a long reprieve for his defence, received sentence of death in Westminster hall, the chancellor Cowper presiding on the bench. The countess of Nithisdale and lady Nairn presented themselves abruptly before the king, being concealed behind a window-curtain in one of the apartments through which he passed. But their prayers were of no avail; neither the solicitations of the countess of Derwentwater, as by her noble friends, and introduced into the king's chamber by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans. The earl's petition, with petitions from the other convicts, was presented to both houses, but all proved unavailing. Orders were issued for the immediate execution of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and viscount Kenmuir was so fortunate as to effect his escape in female dress, brought him for that purpose by his mother. He appeared agitated as he ascended the scaffold, but he resumed his usual firmness, and read a declaration

not proving successful, as plainly appears by what has been already said. It is not owing to the Chevalier, or his faithful friends on this side, that the revolution was not successful, as plainly appears by what has been already said. page 467.

sent to James III., and expressed a hope that his death contribute to the "re-establishment of the ancient and mental constitution." He then declared that "had the prince thought proper to save his life, he should have himself obliged never more to have taken up arms for him." His head was taken up by one of his servants, put into a handkerchief, the body was wrapped in a cloth, and both were carried to the Tower. No hearse was provided, because when his lordship, the night of his execution, sent for the undertaker, Mr. Roome, to of his funeral, he said he would have a silver plate with inscription upon his coffin: "*That he died a sacrifice for a useful sovereign,*" which Mr. Roome not choosing to was dismissed without any orders\*.

Muir was next decapitated: he was a member of the Augustinian church; but both these noblemen regretted that they had pleaded guilty, because they considered that act inconsistent with their loyalty to James. The earl of Winton was soon afterwards, and in a few weeks a commission was sent out for trying the other prisoners, many of whom effected their escape from Newgate; of that number was the earl of Mar, who succeeded in getting to the continent. Though the rebellion was crushed, there were still numbers of disaffected persons in the kingdom; this appeared particularly on the 10th of June, the anniversary of the Pretender's birth-day, which his friends distinguished by wearing white roses.

The year 1716 is distinguished in history as the era from which is dated the Septennial Bill, extending the duration of

The earl of Derwentwater was a Catholic, a relative of prince James, and personally connected with him; circumstances likely to draw him into error. Certainly he did not heartily enter into the cause, for it was in his power, had he willed it, to have brought many more numbers to the cause, not only through his wealth and interest, but that he was exceedingly beloved. He was of so universal a beneficence, that he seemed to live in the bosom of his people, there he spent his estate, and continually showed kindness and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He had a house of generous hospitality and noble entertainment, which few in that age could do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and distressed families on all occasions, whether known to him or not, and whether papist or protestant. His death was sensibly felt by a great many, who had no kindness for the cause he died in. He heartily wished he had not forwarded his ruin, and their loss, by his indiscretion in this mad as well as wicked undertaking.—TINDAL, vol. ii., page 450.

rough, and had served under his father-in-law. The death of queen Anne, his ambition had been opposed by Townshend, respecting the lieutenancy of Ireland, coolness had followed. There were many other dissatisfied persons; and among the number the duke of Marlborough, who, though the office of commander-in-chief was due to him, never possessed the least share of his sovereign's confidence, as the king could not forget the conduct of the general towards him in the campaign of 1708, when Marlborough gave offence by exercising a partial judgment in supplying the army in Flanders. Sunderland was ready to inflame the passions of the disaffected, and when great difficulties arose to the ministry, from the German war, which consisted of the mistresses and favourites of the king. At the time he was the electoral prince of Hanover, Erengard Melesina, princess of Elerstein, was his favourite mistress; and after his separation from his wife, the empress Sophia, princess of Zell, it is said he married this lady with his left hand, a sort of marriage occasionally practised in Germany. She came with the king to England, and was created in 1716, baroness of Dundalk, marchioness of Eglinton, and duchess of Munster, in Ireland; but she went by the title of the duchess of Kendal. She was so devoted in her attendance to the exercises of devotion in the church, as to go there several times in a day, and was much addicted to the love of money; but she maintained such absolute influence with the king, as to be the principal channel through which all parties found access to him. This lady had a rival in the king's affections, in the person of Sophia Charlotte, daughter of count Platen, and sister of baron Kilmanseck, from whom she was separated. After the death of her husband in 1721, she was created countess of Leinster, and the following year was made a peeress, by the title of countess of Darlington. As she possessed extraordinary beauty, was younger, more accomplished, she never assumed the same power as the duchess of Kendal over the king.

The favourite ministers were, Bothmar, Robethon. Baron Bothmar had been the England, during the latter years of queen Bernsdorf he generally consulted in all. Robethon had filled the office of French William, and passed from his service to the Brunswick, when he was secretary to the then filled the same office to George the elector of Hanover. Having been employed in correspondence with England, he was shared the dissatisfaction of the other two services but indifferently rewarded. To may be added, Mustapha and Mahomedsoners, who were taken by the emperor, the king so faithfully when he was in campaign, that he took them to Hanover and then with him to England, he made the stairs. These were all needy persons, any advantage within their grasp for friends. After the duke of Somerset master of the horse, the profits of the appropriated to the duchess of Kendal. The of the favourites irritated the English from Townshend and Walpole some though, in the end, each had recourse to the king's interest. Hanover, since the king was the scene of negotiations. The death and execution of the conditions agreed at Utrecht; for, during his life, though frequently in his mouth, the frenzy of war but after his decease, the earl of Stair ambassador at Paris, secured the alliance to the republic. The assistance,



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dismissed, and Walpole resolved to resign, an event dreaded by the cabinet, who feared to have him as their opponent. His knowledge of finance would render it difficult to supply his place at the head of the treasury, the more as he was now forming a plan likely to succeed in reducing the interest of the national debt. Holland partook of the alarm which such a division in the cabinet would make, and Sunderland joined with Stanhope in framing the most abject excuses for their own conduct. The king, at his return, condescended to ask Townshend to take the lieutenancy of Ireland, which he had at first refused, but now accepted; and tranquillity was restored in the cabinet, but only until Sunderland could increase his party, and ensure a majority: Townshend then received his dismissal, which was followed by the resignation of Walpole. The king was so averse to lose his faithful servant that he returned the seals and placed them in his hat; upon which Walpole, to excuse himself from continuing in the office, said to his majesty, "They will propose to me, both as chancellor of the exchequer, and in parliament, such things that if I agree to support them, my credit and reputation will be lost; and if I disapprove and oppose them, I must forfeit your majesty's favour. For I, in my station, though not the author, must be answerable to my king and to my country for all the measures which may be adopted by the administration."\* And he again laid the seals on the table, and though the king returned them ten times, Walpole remained firm in his refusal.

The king in his late journey had two great objects in view. to effect such a treaty at Hanover as should secure his German states from the king of Sweden, and to preserve Great Britain from future invasion. His majesty discovered that the Swedish government held secret communication with the Jacobites in England; and on his return from his Hanoverian dominions, he caused the envoys of Sweden, with their papers, to be laid before the parliament, it appeared that they had actually been made for the invasion; that

money had been provided by the friends of the Pretender, and that but for this timely discovery, all things were in readiness for an attempt to dethrone king George, and place the Stuarts on the throne. But this was prevented by an alliance with France and Holland, by which they agreed to assist each other in case of invasion. The king's brother, prince Ernest, bishop of Osnaburg, received the titles of the duke of York and Albany; and many other honours were conferred on different persons, but nothing caused so much surprise as the disgrace of the duke of Argyle and his brother the earl of Hay, who were removed from their employment. General Carpenter was appointed commander of the forces in Scotland, and the duke of Montrose filled the office of register there.

In the month of November a truly disastrous incident occurred, which widened the breach between the king and the royal family. The princess of Wales, being delivered of a prince, his royal father, who was ignorant that the custom of England rendered it needful that the king should be sponsor to the child, and the place of second sponsor be filled by the lord chamberlain, intended that his uncle, the duke of York, should be sponsor; but the king had informed himself of the etiquette observed in England, and he appointed the duke of Newcastle, then lord chamberlain, to stand in his own name and person: the prince, not knowing that the duke acted by his majesty's command, was highly enraged at his grace's conduct, and at the conclusion of the ceremony, expressed his anger in very harsh terms. The king desired the prince to confine himself within his own apartments; and in a few days after required him to leave St. James's: the children were kept, but the prince of Wales, with his consort, removed to a house belonging to the earl of Grantham. All who visited the prince and princess ceased to come into the presence of the king; and they who held employments under both were obliged to quit the service, either of the king, or the prince. The infant prince died soon after this unfortunate affair.

The earl of Oxford, who had now passed two years in the Tower, was brought up for trial; but from difference of opinion between the lords and the commons respecting the

form of proceeding, and more from the lukewarmness of Walpole, who, from an inconsistency of conduct to which human nature is liable, was now backward in bringing witnesses to prove the guilt of one against whom he had been the leading accuser, the earl received his liberty. Debates occurred this session respecting the number of troops requisite to be kept up, and various bills passed the house; but public attention was called from home business, to consider the conduct of the Spanish monarch, who, with the diligent care of his prime minister, cardinal Alberoni, equipped a large armament, which sailed from Barcelona without its destination being known: an intention to invade France, as well as to make an attack on England, proved to be the object. The attempt was instigated at the suggestion of Alberoni, in league with the friends of the Pretender, who was then in Madrid, where he had been received with sovereign honours. Only a few of the Spanish ships proceeded further than Cape Finisterre, the fleet being dispersed by a violent storm; and those few, having reached Scotland, were disappointed in not meeting with the number they had been led to expect; but they came to an engagement with the regular troops, in which they were completely defeated.\*

At length open hostilities commenced, by an attempt of the Spaniards to subdue Sicily; but an English squadron, under command of Admiral Byng, was in the Mediterranean, and opposed the enemy. Meantime, the ministers of France and England were endeavouring to form a *quadruple alliance* between Great Britain, France, Austria, and the States General. To this the king of England endeavoured to per-

\* A marriage was this year agreed upon between the Pretender and a daughter of prince Sobieski, the eldest son of John Sobieski, king of Poland; which the court of Vienna interfered to prevent. With this view the princess was stopped on her passage through Ferrol into Italy, and confined at Inspruck; from which place, whilst her father was vainly soliciting her liberty from the emperor, she made her escape in rural apparel, and getting to Bologna, was there married by proxy to the Pretender, being then in Spain. A few days after she went to Rome, where she was kindly received by the pope; she wished to be conducted to her spouse, but was prevailed upon to remain at Rome, until a more favourable crisis. No communication could be maintained but by letters. A person named Massey was sent with despatches from her to the Pretender, and to the cardinal Alberoni; and soon after, the same person, who was sent with these letters and papers of consequence, was in Holland: there, by the desire of the Pretender, his lodgings were searched, and himself and his papers secured.

suade Philip to be a party, and finding him averse, Byng proceeded to Spain, taking with him a reinforcement of two thousand Germans, as he hoped to intimidate Philip into compliance with the arrangements for the general peace of Europe. But Spain still persisting in her own course, England issued a declaration of war against Spain. Admiral Byng was successful in the recovery of Sicily, and, at length, the king of Spain became convinced of the treacherous conduct of his minister, Alberoni. He discarded him from his councils, and from his kingdom; and then the monarch acceded to join the quadruple alliance.

At this period, George I. was in Hanover, whither he had gone the preceding spring; having left the government of his kingdom to certain great men, who were appointed for that purpose lords justices. Whilst the king was engaged in making various efforts to reconcile the contending powers of Europe, his English subjects had attained a general state of frenzy, in an imaginary pursuit of wealth. The error originated in the assiento, or contract, at the peace of Utrecht, for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes conveyed to Great Britain, by the commercial treaty with Philip V., and also by the privilege of sending to the fair of Porto Bello, a ship of 500 tons burden, laden with European commodities, to be vested exclusively in the SOUTH SEA COMPANY. Their agents, under cover of the authorized importation, poured in their commodities without limitation: instead of sending a ship of 500 tons, they sent one of 1000 tons burden, and other smaller ones, that could supply her clandestinely with goods. By these advantages, the South Sea Company soon became rich; and Sir John Blount, one of the directors, proposed a plan, by which the national debt should be paid off, lowering the interest, and reducing the funds into one stock, and thus make the company the sole public creditor. Ministers, pleased with the plan, soon procured an act authorized the company to purchase from the several holders, all the debts of the crown, (they then bore five per cent) and the capital to be redeemable by parliament. Books of subscription were opened, and annuities granted to those

who chose to *exchange* the *security* of the *crown* for that of the *South Sea Company*, with the *emoluments* which might arise from their *commerce*. The rage for purchasing stock continued without intermission, until suddenly an alarm spread. Immediately every one wanted to sell, but there were no purchasers; and the South Sea stock fell as rapidly as it had risen. Nothing then was heard but the ravings of disappointment, and the utmost wisdom of parliament was exerted to save the kingdom from a general bankruptcy.

“A committee of the House of Commons was chosen to examine the proceedings. Mr. Aislalie, chancellor of the exchequer, was committed to the Tower, for having encouraged the execution of this destructive scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit; Mr. Secretary Craggs and his son died before they experienced the censure of the House, but the Commons resolved that Mr. Craggs, senior, was an accomplice with Robert Knight, treasurer to the South Sea Company, and some of the directors, in carrying on their nefarious practices: and therefore, all the estate which he was possessed of at the time of his death, should be applied toward the relief of unhappy sufferers by the South Sea scheme. The estates of the other directors were also confiscated by act of parliament, and directed to be applied to the same purpose, after a certain allowance was deducted for each director, proportioned to his conduct and circumstances.” The prince of Wales withdrew his name of governor to the company.\*

The disagreement of the king and the prince of Wales ~~had~~ arrived at such an alarming crisis, as to threaten that it might prove a source of division among the people; but Walpole, when on the eve of rejoining the government, refused to ~~take~~ any part against the prince, and used his utmost efforts to promote a reconciliation, in which he at length succeeded ~~but~~ but the king, who was about to proceed to Hanover, did ~~not~~ *not* appoint the prince, regent, during his absence, but left ~~the~~ *the* government of the kingdom to be directed by a council ~~like~~ *like* regency, composed of the principal officers of state. The ~~entire~~ *entire* ~~ruined~~ *ruined* state of the nation called for his majesty's ~~presence~~

in the beginning of November, and the king hastened his return. All that session was passed in schemes for retrieving the public credit, which was at length effected.

The death of Charles of Sweden, who was succeeded by Ulrica, his youngest sister, she being elected in preference to Charles Frederick, son of the eldest sister, gave a change to affairs with regard to England. A separate peace was concluded between Sweden and Hanover, which act was followed by a subsidiary alliance with England; the unanimity of which was afterwards disturbed by the resignation of the crown of Sweden to the husband of Ulrica, Frederic I.

In consequence of parliament taking under its peculiar consideration the improvement of trade and commerce, more than a hundred different articles of British manufacture were allowed to be exported, and thirty-eight articles of raw materials to be imported, duty free; and a bill was passed which granted bounties and premiums to the importers of naval stores from the English colonies in North America.

The conduct of Sutherland, who maintained an amazing influence with the king, was truly mysterious; he aimed to disgrace the prince of Wales, and in secret he favoured the Tories. The Pretender, too, thought his hope secure, but in order to do anything in this, it would be needful to remove Walpole, a project which the death of Sutherland put an end to; and which was soon after followed by that of the duke of Marlborough, who was buried in Westminster Abbey. The new parliament of 1723 was chiefly composed of Whigs. During the heat of the election, a conspiracy was detected; the first intelligence of which was communicated by the regent of France, the duke of Orleans, to whom the agents of James had applied for 5000, and then for 3000 men; but the request being refused, they relied on the disaffected in England, "and it would be proved," said the mover of the question, "that a meeting had taken place, at which it was proposed to seize the bank, and other places where monies were lodged, and to proclaim the Pretender at the Royal Exchange."

As a certain proof of the plot, the king sent to the House

of Peers a copy of the original declaration, published by the Pretender, dated Lucca, 20th of September, 1722, and addressed to the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. In this, the Pretender assumes the title of James Rex, and proposes terms to George I., that he should give up to him the quiet possession of his dominions, promising, on his part, to ensure to king George his succession to the British dominions, whenever in due course his natural right should take place. The House pronounced this a traitorous libel, and ordered it to be burnt. On that occasion, Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle Temple, was proved guilty of having enlisted men for the service of the Pretender; he was executed, and his head was exhibited at Temple Bar. The duke of Norfolk, doctor Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, with several other noblemen, and gentlemen, were committed to the Tower; but for want of evidence all these, except Atterbury, were acquitted. A bill of pains and penalties was found against the bishop, and he was degraded and expelled the kingdom.\* As he was proceeding in the month of June to the Continent, he met Bolingbroke at Calais; the latter had received a pardon and was returning to England; upon which the bishop observed to him, "My lord, we are exchanged."

Bolingbroke, by one of those secret movements which direct the springs of government unseen by common eyes, received his pardon through the exertions of the same persons who had procured his attainder; that is, he was so far restored in blood, that he could return to his own country; but he could not receive back his estate, nor be allowed his seat in the House of Peers. He had married the niece of Mar-

\* Francis Atterbury was born at Middleton, near Newport Pagnel, in Bedfordshire, 1669. He received his education at Westminster school, and was elected student of Christ College, Oxford. He was patronised by Sir Jonathan Trenchard, bishop of Exeter; appointed by the Tory administration of queen Anne to Christ Church, and in 1718, advanced, at the recommendation of the earl of Oxford, to the bishopric of Rochester, and deanery of Westminster. Upon his flight to France, he repaired to the Pretender, to whom he filled the office of an agent, until the year 1728, when he left the service of James in disgust at the partial influence exerted by colonel May. Though the bishop, actuated by the spirit of party, often conducted himself in an ambiguous manner, he was a steady adherent to the Pretender. He died at Paris on the 15th of February, 1734.



de Maintenon, and finding it difficult to secure property in his own right, application was made to remove the attainder, upon which occasion Walpole described Bolingbroke as having atoned by his sufferings for all his offences; and after contending with a very powerful opposition, the attainder was rescinded, with the exception of holding a seat in the House of Lords. The public were amazed at Walpole's want of prudence in favouring the restoration of a man, on whose principles no dependence could be confidently placed; but the minister acted in that matter by the positive commands of his sovereign, who had been won by the solicitations of the duchess of Kendal, whose influence Bolingbroke purchased with a present of eleven thousand pounds; and he looked to her further interest to procure his full restoration, at an early opportunity.

Pope Clement XI. died this year, and was succeeded by Innocent XIII. of the noble family of Conti.

The princess of Wales had a son, William Augustus, duke of Cumberland. The king was pleased at this time to grant several promotions, and to make some changes in the cabinet. The lords Townshend and Carteret were appointed secretaries of state; the earl of Hay was made keeper of the privy seal of Scotland; and the earl of Bute was admitted to be a lord of the bed-chamber to the king. After these arrangements the king set out for Hanover, leaving the government to be directed by a regency, from which the prince of Wales was still excluded. His majesty went in June, and returned in time to meet his parliament in the January following.

In England the attention of the people had been occupied during the winter with the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, the lord chancellor, against whom reports were made by able persons, that he had embezzled, or suffered his officers to embezzle, the effects of certain widows, orphans, and lunatics. He was impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors; and being found guilty of fraudulent practices, he was committed to the Tower until he should pay a fine of thirty thousand pounds, which money the peers voted should be applied to

At the same time the king revived the order of knights of the Bath, founded by Richard II., and which first derived its name from the ceremony of bathing previous to the coronation.

The Duke of Orleans, regent of France, died in a fit of palsy, with which he was seized when in the arms of the Duke of Talaris. This prince was one of the most accomplished and the most dissipated of his time. His death led to the repose of Europe, as the cardinal Fleury was induced, at the age of seventy-three, to accept the place of prime minister. He had been preceptor to the young king, Louis XV. and as he possessed wisdom and penetration, with a moderate disposition, he acted in concert with the English minister, sir Robert Walpole, who possessed similar sentiments; and thus England enjoyed a more perfect state of tranquillity than had been its fate during the last twenty years.

Of the different treaties formed during that period, the treaty between the emperor and the king of Spain was a cause of jealousy to the English monarch, who feared its results might prove detrimental to his Hanoverian possessions. It contained a secret article regarding the Pretender, in favour of whom the king of Spain was known to be favourably inclined; besides that it was offensive to the French, and Dutch, as containing conditions more advantageous to the king of Spain, than to any other nation. The partial clause was occasioned by the queen of Spain being led to expect a marriage between her son Don Carlos and the archduchess Maria Theresa, heiress to the house of Austria. To prevent the ill effects of such a treaty, George I. concluded a fresh treaty with the three offended powers, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, so that Spain and Austria remained passive.

The quadruple alliance had been projected with intent to settle the divisions between the emperor of Austria and Philip V. king of Spain; but was so disagreeable to both those parties, that they stopped the negotiations at Cambray. Philip sent Ripperda with a secret overture to Vienna. A great inducement to Philip was the projected marriage

the relief of such suitors as had suffered. On paying the fine the earl was discharged.

The practice of inoculation for the small-pox was about this period introduced into England, from Turkey; prince Frederick, the princess Amelia, and Carolina, with several of the nobility, submitted to the operation, and it was attended with success.

Some changes in the ministry took place. By the deaths of Sunderland and Stanhope, Townshend and Walpole were again placed at the head of the Whig administration. Early in the beginning of this year, Philip king of Spain retired with his queen to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, and resigned the crown to their son, the prince of Asturias; but he dying soon after, his father Philip resumed it. He left the management of affairs to his queen, an ambitious woman, and fond of intrigue. Their daughter, the Infanta, had married Louis XV. of France, who bore her such an unconquerable dislike, that he would never consummate the marriage, and by the advice of his council he sent her back to Madrid, which so displeased the queen, that, to show her anger, she dismissed Mademoiselle de Beaujolois, daughter of the regent, and who had been contracted to her son, Don Carlos. She also contrived to form a private treaty with Austria, as she had determined that France should have no further interference in the affairs of Spain. By this treaty the subjects of Austria would gain advantages in their trade with Spain, which alarmed the jealousy of England; and to counteract any such designs, George negotiated a defensive treaty between England, France, and Prussia. This alliance provided a guarantee of the rights of the parties, and of those of commerce particularly; it was concluded at Hanover, and continued fifteen years.

On the 5th of December, the princess of Wales's daughter, who was baptized Louisa: and in this year Thomas Guy, member for Tamworth, and formerly a bookseller in London, built an hospital, for the support of which he left at his death the sum of two hundred thousand pounds.

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brother Don Carlos to Mademoiselle Beaujolois, daughter of the duke of Orleans; and of the Infanta, his daughter by Elizabeth Farnese, to the king of France. After the death of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon had sent the Infanta back to Spain, and affianced the young king, Louis, to the daughter of Stanislaus, titular king of Poland. This caused Spain to declare war against France; upon which he referred to the mediation of England to settle his differences at Vienna; but George declined acting as sole mediator, which so exasperated Philip, that he concluded his difference with the emperor, and transferred his anger to England. In the treaty between Spain and Austria were many secret articles to guarantee their mutual assistance of each other's territories, and to exclude articles of commerce injurious to England and France; and a rumour prevailed of their intention to place the Pretender on the throne of England. A defensive alliance between England, France, and Prussia, was soon after signed at Hanover, which had for its principal object to oppose the designs of Austria, Spain, and Russia, with regard to commerce; as well as to counteract any attempts they might be induced to make in favour of the Pretender.

In contradiction to the opinion asserted by lord Chesterfield, "that Hanover rode triumphant on the shoulders of England," alluding to the sacrifice made in that treaty of the interest of England to the king's dominions in Germany, sir Robert Walpole has shown, that that was an English treaty in every thing but the name; that the motive which gave rise to it was "the protection and preservation of British commerce, British possessions, and British government\*."

At that period the British ambassador in Spain was treated with disrespect, and the Jacobite air, "The King shall be his own again," was played at court; and the duke of Devonshire to the duke of Berwick, was heard to declare "that he hoped it would soon be a crime in Spain to mention George as king of England†."

\* Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole, vol. i., page 435.

† Ibid.

While these events were passing in the political hemisphere, Bolingbroke became impatient at the delay in obtaining his restoration. The duchess of Kendal had lost by death her rival, lady Darlington, and enjoyed an unparticipated ascendancy of power over the king; but she was aware that her health was declining, and therefore was cautious not to do anything that was likely to discompose him. Bolingbroke attributed his disappointment to the interference of the minister, and, resolving in his own breast to transplant Walpole in his confidential office, thought that to excite a feeling of jealousy in the mind of the duchess would be the most effectual means to obtain his end. The eldest son of sir Robert Walpole occupied a house on Richmond-hill, while a mansion was erecting for him as ranger of Richmond park. The king, after shooting, frequently dined with young Walpole, and took his punch with him, of which he was very fond; but the duchess, who had felt displeased that the king should spend his afternoon in this convivial manner, was roused, by the insinuations of Bolingbroke, to feel jealous of his intercourse with Walpole. Her remonstrance, however, had no time to take the desired effect, as the king, who had been two years without making a visit to his German dominions, was preparing for the journey; he appointed a regency to act in his absence, and proceeded to Greenwich, from whence he embarked for Holland, on the 3rd of June, and arrived at Delden on the 9th, on his road to Hanover. His majesty dined with the count Twittel, ate heartily, and resumed his journey at four the next morning; but feeling a numbness, he suddenly said to M. Fabrice, who was in the coach with him, that he could not move his hand, upon which motion was instantly tried, but the hand continued motionless; the coach was stopped, and his majesty's surgeon, who was near, rubbed the part affected with spirits, but without effect. A fit of palsy came on, a vein was instantly opened, but the case was hopeless. At Ippenburen the king had expressed anxiety to reach Osnaburgh, and, notwithstanding the utmost speed, his majesty was motionless on arriving there, and expired on the 11th, in the palace of his only

surviving brother, Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnaburg\*. The royal remains were conveyed to Hanover, and were deposited with those of his ancestors. George I. expired in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. The king left issue by his marriage with the heiress of the duke of Zell, one son, who succeeded him on the throne of England, and one daughter, who became queen of Prussia.

All historians have accounted George I. a very fortunate monarch. In his conduct after his accession to the throne, he exercised great resolution, perseverance, and a never-failing attention to business. That he studied the interest of the Hanoverians more than he did that of his English subjects ought rather to be a subject of regret than of censure (provided that kings are allowed to feel the force of early habits), since his majesty had attained his fifty-fourth year previous to his first landing in England, and was quite ignorant of the manners, customs, and language of the country; but he listened with great liberality to those who acquainted him with the genuine principles of the British constitution. In his domestic habits the king allowed a culpable indulgence towards his mistress to render him severe to an amiable wife and negligent in the performance of his paternal duties.

King George I. married Sophia Dorothy, the only child of William duke of Zell; she was born in 1666, and her alliance was courted by the greatest princes in Germany. At the period of her marriage she was only sixteen, was handsome and possessed some accomplishments; but these were unable to secure her her husband's affection; after the birth of a son and a daughter, he treated her with neglect, and attached himself to a mistress.

At that time count Koningsmark, a Swedish nobleman came to Hanover; he had been a former suitor to Sophia and in the absence of the prince renewed his attentions so as

\* The duchess of Kendal was hastening forward; when told he was dead she proceeded to Brunswick, and returned in four months after to England, and lived at Kendal House, Isleworth. She died in 1743; the place after her death was converted into a tea-garden. Her property was divided among her German relations and the countess of Chesterfield, who had passed as her niece during her life, but was supposed to be her daughter by George I.

to attract notice, and an intimation of his attachment was conveyed to the absent husband. At his return the count was met in crossing a passage from Sophia's apartment, and put to death in the presence of the elector. The princess was immediately placed under arrest; she protested her innocence, but circumstances appeared strong against her, and George, who had never loved her, believed the account of her infidelity as given him by his father. He consented to her imprisonment, and obtained from the ecclesiastical consistory a divorce on the 28th December, 1694. Her father, who doted on her, had no doubt of her guilt, and continued in habits of friendship with Ernest Augustus and his son-in-law.

The unfortunate lady was confined in the castle of Alden, on the river Aller, in the duchy of Zell, where she endured captivity thirty-two years. She died on the 13th of November, 1726; and her death was announced under the title of the electress dowager of Hanover.

Sophia conducted herself during her confinement with mildness and patience: she received the sacrament once every week, when she always asserted her innocence of the crime laid to her charge. Subsequent circumstances have tended to shew she was not guilty, but was sacrificed to the jealousy of the countess of Platen, the favourite mistress of Ernest Augustus, who, being herself in love with the count, and slighted by him, resolved to sacrifice the lover and the princess to her vengeance.

George II. was strongly attached to his mother, and entertained a certain belief of her innocence. He once crossed the Aller on horseback to pay her a visit, but the baron de Bulow, to whose care she was committed, would not allow of the interview. Had she survived his accession, he would have restored her to liberty, and acknowledged her queen dowager. He had always preserved her portrait in secret. He told queen Caroline that, when some repairs were making in the palace of Hanover, the bones of count Koningsmark were found under the floor of the antechamber which led to the apartment of Sophia\*.

\* *Memoirs of sir Robert Walpole*, vol. i. p. 468.



## CHAPTER XXII.

### GEORGE II.

GEORGE II. was born at Hanover on the 30th of June, 1683, and was the son of George I. and his consort, princess of Lounsburch Zell.

He was in his forty-fifth year at the time of his ascent to the throne of England, which was on the 10th of June 1727, and was crowned with his queen at Westminster on the 11th of October, with the usual solemnities. This king received the first grounds of his education from his grandmother, the electress Sophia. In his youth he had distinguished himself by his bravery and military talents, which he displayed in the allied army under the duke of Marlborough in 1706; but the misunderstanding which had for many years existed between him and his late father had caused him to live in a more retired manner than was altogether suited to his station as prince of Wales. He entertained a very high opinion of his queen, whose levees are stated by the biographer of sir Robert Walpole to have presented "a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a haughty woman. She received company while she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household: the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the title-talk of a drawing-room."

The Tory faction, which had unceasingly endeavoured to thwart the measures of government in the preceding reign and which reckoned in its number the first orators and the men of the greatest talents and abilities, flattered themselves with the expectation that the ministry would have undergone a great change, but the queen, whose influence never failed with her husband, had formed a very high notion of sir Robert Walpole's talents; and this favourable impression was not lessened by the knowledge that he would continue to exert the

parliament a jointure of one hundred thousand pounds a year, in case she outlived her royal husband; whereas another minister would not have ventured on a further request than sixty thousand pounds. That, and the bill which fixed the same civil list as was granted to his father, formed the chief part of the business of the present session. The parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and the new elections were entered upon with astonishing vigour. The Whigs and Tories exchanged their names for those of the court and the country parties. The same modes of corruption were employed by the minister in securing a majority in the house of commons as were used when the prerogatives of the crown were endangered by the opposition of the peers: the power and riches thus acquired were voted in the service of fraud and venality; the luxury thus obtained by the meanest acts of speculation destroyed the vital principle of honour and public credit, and the perversion operated to undermine the royal prerogative which it was pretended to protect. The king filled up the several departments in his ministry, his council, and his household, according to his pleasure, and showed by his appointments that he intended the Whigs should still be the directors of the administration; and that the internal government of the kingdom should be similar to that maintained by his father, and that he should follow the same steps in his foreign connexions. Sir Robert Walpole filled the two offices of chancellor of the exchequer and first lord of the treasury, and was considered the prime minister.

At the first meeting of the new parliament a powerful party of the opposition, with sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Pulteney, as their leaders, opposed, with all the vigour of men endeavouring to acquire an ascendancy, the motion of the minister for a supply to enable the monarch to fulfil the engagements contracted by the crown during the last session. At length the motion was carried by a large majority. The protestant interest in Germany lost a sincere advocate by the death of his royal highness Ernest Augustus, bishop of Osnaburg, the only surviving brother of George I., a man of such amiable manners and liberal conduct as to

have been equally beloved by his Catholics as by his Protestant subjects. He was succeeded in the bishopric by the duke of Cologne, it being enjoyed alternately by the house of Brunswick and that elector. In the month of December 1711 Frederick, the king's eldest son, and the father of George, came to England from his residence in Hanover: he was introduced into the council, and created prince of Wales.

The unabated exertions of Bolingbroke to dislodge Walpole and his colleagues from office, had not as yet effected anything towards their removal. Walpole had become insensible to reproach; his own experience in the system of intrigue taught him to doubt the sincerity of all protestations, and could argue with the greatest seeming indifference on every topic which he thought it his interest to promote. Bolingbroke, finding he was foiled in every attempt he had hitherto made to injure Walpole, resolved on sending his secretary, to inspect the works at Dunkirk, in hopes he might have been able to prove that the port had not been destroyed according to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht: for he well knew that the thing most likely to excite angry feelings against the minister would be to find that he favoured France; but here he had no better success.

In foreign matters the Spaniards were the first to insist on the rights of the treaties formed in the last reign.

A congress had met at Soissons for adjusting the differences of Europe, but which was of little use, on account of the obstacles raised by the plenipotentiaries, especially on the part of Spain. The ministry, being averse to a war, gave the Spaniards opportunity for continuing their depredations by their guarda costas on the seas.

Queen Anne of Spain was careless of a peace with England, as she looked for her son's alliance in Italy, and courted the French interest: meanwhile the frequent complaints of the English merchants respecting the conduct of the Spaniards on the southern coasts of America, shewed that justice was totally disregarded; and one of the complaints, by an account of his acute sufferings, excited the feeling of the commons to attempt a removal of the grievance, by which

When England had recourse to her old remedy, a treaty; supposing that all risk of a war was at an end, the parliament was employed in suggesting improvements at home. Oglethorp, a member of the commons, having received information that the gaolers exercised various cruelties in the prisons, a committee was appointed to examine into the cause; and upon they proceeded to the Fleet prison, where they found sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons for some real offence given to Mr. Bainbridge, the warder. This led to the discovery of other cruelties, and Bainbridge, with the other warder, and others his accomplices, were committed to Newgate.

During the period of peace which succeeded the late treaty, a warm contest was carried on in parliament between the court and the country parties. A set of interested men had been created, under a show of benevolence, a company, to which was given the name of the Charitable Corporation, to lend money to the poor at legal interest upon small pledges, and to persons of rank on a fair security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds, which soon increased by subscription to six hundred thousand. After this company had been established thirty years, the cashier, George Ingham, M. P. for Marlow, and John Thompson, the warehouse-keeper, absconded; and it appeared that five hundred thousand of the money was expended without the knowledge of the proprietors. Upon examination it was found that an intricate system had been carried on, in which several persons of rank were concerned. Six members of parliament were impeached for their fraudulent practices in this and other matters; two, in the profession of the law, for a fraudulent sale of the late earl of Derwentwater's estates, and an opinion prevailed in the house of lords that the whole of the forfeited property had been employed in the rewarding knavery and fraud. About the same period Townshend resigned, in consequence of disagreeing with his brother-in-law in the cabinet; but he retired with the most unsullied character; and soon, some time after, he was urged by the Opposition to

sanction certain measures against Walpole, he declined interference in politics; and, to avoid the snare, he went to London, but spent the remainder of his life at Sturminster Newton, improving agricultural pursuits with his experience, and enlivening the country by the exercise of hospitality.

A bill was proposed to fix a general excise; Walpole introduced it by exposing the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent this imposition, he proposed that all the quantity imported should be lodged in warehouses, and when the proprietor found a purchaser, it should be sold from thence, on paying a duty of four pence on the pound. The public opposed this measure with so much violence that the ministry became intimidated, the bill was given up, and the populace of London testified their joy by burning the effigy of Walpole, and by various public rejoicings. A reconciliation had been effected between France and Spain; and England was no longer suspected of entertaining a partiality towards France, as the jealous feelings between these two nations had latterly revived, in consequence of a final treaty signed at Vienna, which bound the interest of Austria with that of England.

The firm establishment of the house of Hanover on the throne of Britain had now restored the domestic tranquility of the nation; and the party spirit which for a long time divided the interests of the people had nearly subsided except among the leaders of government, where their different views of political subjects frequently caused a division of opinions. Horace Walpole having returned from Paris, earl Waldegrave was appointed to succeed him in the office of ambassador; his father had followed the fortunes of James II., and had married the natural daughter of that monarch, Henrietta, by Arabella Churchill; the present James, earl Waldegrave, had been educated in the Catholic religion, which he changed in 1722 for the Protestant creed. His uncle, the duke of Berwick, with a view to mortify him, one day asked his nephew whether he had changed from religion.

political motives, and used the expression "*Confess the truth*;" to this the earl replied, "I changed my religion to *truth confession*."

An act had passed the Commons, by which a sinking fund was established, for the purpose of appropriating the surpluses of duties and revenues towards the liquidation of the national debt. The minister now carried a motion, to take away a part of that money for current expenses; a measure which he has been most deservedly censured, since by the application of the money to its intended purpose, a great part of the original debt was annually wiped off, but since the encroachment on its operation, that part of the revenue was alienated into the annual expenditure. During the whole of this session it seemed to be the principal object of the opposition party to render the minister unpopular. The attack originated, as on former occasions, with Bolingbroke; and under his direction was ably managed by sir William Wyndham and his friends in the minority. Their efforts proved ineffectual, and only served to bring new reproach on Bolingbroke, who, finding that his professions of virtue and disinterestedness did not gain belief, once more retired to obscurity.

Disapprobation was attributed to the minister at this period for not standing the wishes of the king and the people, to join the emperor of Austria in defending his territory from the incursions of France, Spain, and Sardinia; and thus allowing advantages to the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon.

But the treaty of Vienna, which caused a reunion of the king of Poland with the house of Austria, had revived the former animosities between France and Spain. Louis XV. supported the claims of his father-in-law, Stanislaus, to the crown of Poland, vacant by the death of Augustus II., at Warsaw. The English minister wanted to exclude Stanislaus, but dared not to offend France; and he acted with such caution, dissimulation, and duplicity, that shows him to have equalled, if not excelled, all modern practitioners of intrigue. The king of France succeeded in placing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, but he was immediately compelled to quit it. The

of the treaty at Vienna, he had just have been readily afforded; this expectation stronger from the secret influence of the ministers to exclude Stanislaus, but he was disappointed. The success of the allied armies of Prussia and Austria, and the irritated condition of the king of Great Britain, George II. do no more than offer his assistance, which rendered it prudent, and necessary, that he should be found in a state of defence. Walpole attempted to send his brother Horace to the Hague, in the expectation that the states of Holland would join in the view.

Meanwhile, the emperor employed the king on a secret mission to the king and queen of Prussia, the minister, who was acquainted with the king's views, had sufficient interest to procure the king's assistance, and also to obtain the emperor's mediation of the maritime powers, against the king of France; but a disagreement respecting the preliminaries, between Fleury and the king, rendered an amicable adjustment impossible. The English cabinet was at length decided in favour of the king, and the king felt no more the necessity of the emperor's mediation.

were everywhere successful, but they had a great the death of their commander, the duke of Berwick, as killed by a cannon ball, as he was examining the of a redoubt along the banks of the Rhine. His son, Edward, who was on one side of him, was covered with her's blood, and the duke of Duras, who was on the side, was wounded by a stick out of a gabion which the had broken to pieces. James Fitzjames, duke of Al, was the illegitimate son of James II., when he was of York, and Arabella Churchill, sister to the famed of Marlborough. He was born 21st of August, 1671, in the Bourbonnois, whither his mother had re- be secret. She afterwards took him with her to ed, and his father sent him when seven years old into to be educated by father Gough, who afterwards had of his brother, the duke of Albemarle. They were College of July, the same in which the duke of Mon- natural son of Charles II. was placed, till the death of preceptor Gough. They were then removed to the at Plessis, where they remained till the year 1664, they were called to take a part in active life. The Berwick exercised all the duties of a great military nder; his qualities as a general, and his private drew the following remark from Montesquieu:—"In ks of Plutarch I have seen, at a distance, what great re; in him I behold, at a nearer view, what they *are*." to the close of this session, an annuity of five thou- ounds per annum was settled on the princess royal, marriage with the prince of Orange was solemnized the preceding spring. A bill too was passed which d that all law proceedings should in future be regis- in the English language.

he king's return from Hanover to open the parliament i, he found the people dissatisfied at the success of nch, and the continued depredations of the Spaniards. cise system had produced violent murmurs in Scot- here numerous frauds were committed, and Walpole mortification to see his friends decrease in number.



At a period an envoy arrived from Portugal to ask the aid of England against Spain, which interference was occasioned by the following occurrence: John, king of Portugal, having married Mary Ann, sister to the late king of Spain, had increased the hatred his family bore to the Spanish marriages of the prince of Asturias, the prince of Portugal, and Joseph prince of Brazil. Anne Victoria Infanta of Spain\*, reconciled the animosity between the ministers of Spain and England, but renewed the former animosity, and caused a rupture with England, which was answered by a rupture on the part of Lisbon. This intimidated James, who was in arms: but whilst James renewed his solicitations for aid from England for succour, the final answer was withheld because the English cabinet was in a divided state. At length a decisive negative was given to the emperor, and then the ministers continued in an undeviating course. In the course of parliament business, a material alteration was made in the militia bill, obliging the officer who enlisted a man to take him before a magistrate within a certain number of days, when he should be at liberty, on the journey and paying the expenses incurred, to be charged on shewing a good and true cause of objection. The session ended with the signing of preliminaries for a peace.

The year terminated with some changes that affected the affairs of Europe. Victor Amadeus, the king of Sicily, had resigned the sceptre to his son Charles Emanuel of Piedmont, on account of his having married the dowager of St. Sebastian, with whom he lived in re-

\* Mariana Victoria, wife of Joseph king of Portugal, was daughter to Philip V. of Spain, by Elizabeth Farnese, his second wife. Destined by her parents to be the second wife of Louis XV., she was sent, when four years of age, to Paris, to be educated at the French court; but when the duke of Bourbon became regent in 1723, he considered that the throne of France might be filled by a descendant of the Spanish monarch, he married the young king at the age of fourteen to Maria Louisa, daughter of Stanislaus, and then living with her father in retirement at Weissenau in Alsace. The Infanta, then eleven years old, was sent back to Madrid; her father, king Philip, carried her to Badajoz, and there married her to John, the hereditary prince of Portugal.—WAXHALL'S Memoirs, vol. i., p. 9.

Peter II., czar of Muscovy, died, and was succeeded by a niece of the first Peter; and at Rome, pope Benedict XIII. had been succeeded in the papal chair by Lawrence Corsini, under the title of Clement XII. France had been distracted with religious dissensions, which grew to such a height under the ministry of cardinal Fleury, who prevailed on Louis XV. to accept the constitution Unigenitus, that nothing but the love the people bore to their sovereign preserved the kingdom from a civil war; and a revolution in Turkey had made Mahomet grand signior, after keeping him six years in confinement.

While these occurrences were passing in foreign states, the interior police of England was so neglected, as to draw every severe censure on the conduct of the ministers; the roads throughout England were infested with robbers and assassins, so that strangers and travellers were in continual fear of being murdered.

In the next parliament, a bill proposed by Joseph Jekyll, for taxing spirituous liquors, subjected the minister to much censure, without benefiting the morals of society, which the minister professed to have entertained as his object. The repeal of the Test Act was next proposed, but was negatived by the minister, who, at the same time, supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers: the latter passed the Commons, but was refused by a small minority in the Lords. This rejection was particularly annoying to Walpole, whose chief motive for favouring the bill arose in his wish to gratify a body of Quakers residing in Norfolk, who had supported with their interest the candidates he had proposed for the city of Norwich; and for which he wished to evince his gratitude for the past, and ensure their future good offices, by his acquiescence to their request. As he attributed the refusal of the bill to the efforts of the bishop of London, he shewed his displeasure by withdrawing his confidence from that prelate in the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. Doctor Gibson had raised himself into early notice by many publications which proved his classical erudition. He was a great friend to the Protestant succession; and his extensive le

ing and his piety caused him to be considered archbishop of Canterbury, a hope which Walpole to frustrate, so that doctor Potter succeeded to : when, at his death, it was offered to Gibson, th declined it in consequence of his age and infirmities fusion of favours which were continually heaped friends of the minister gave umbrage to some servants of the crown, whose resignations followed quence. The leaders of the opposition shewed this by writing articles in the *Craftsman*, an anti-ministerial and they issued several pamphlets, in which they hurled arrows at the government; and as these publications were conducted with great talent, the wit and acrimony in them caused them to be read with avidity. The king determined on another visit to Hanover, he advised the government to a regency, directed by the queen; I recommended unanimity in the cabinet, and took Walpole with him to act as his secretary at Hanover.

During the king's absence various tumults took place, the most important in its consequence were the riots in the fields, among the weavers, who took offence at being employed there, though at an inferior rate of wages, the populace were also much irritated at the passing of the Gin Act. But a more serious riot occurred in Scotland. A daring smuggler, named Wilson, was hanged at Edinburgh for robbing a collector of the revenue. He had aided the escape of a fellow-criminal from the guards; and government being fearful that a rescue might be attempted, sent the magistrate of Edinburgh orders that the train bands and city guards should be provided with ammunition and arms. The execution passed off quietly; but no sooner was the executioner prepared to cut down the body, than the populace forced their way to the gallows. Captain Porteus being struck with a stone, in the moment of provocation, ordered his men to fire, by which five were killed and several wounded. Porteus was apprehended, for having directed the soldiers to fire without the orders of a civil magistrate; he was tried, found guilty, and condemned to die; but seven out of the

who formed the jury acquitted him; which, added to favourable circumstances, caused the queen regent to respite for six weeks, to give time for further inquiry into particulars of the case. This so irritated the lower in Edinburgh, that they proceeded in the most riotous manner. The guards were surprised, the populace broke open the city gates, released the prisoners, and Porteus, they dragged him to the grass-market, they broke into a shop, took out a coil of ropes, and fastened him upon a dyer's cross-post, near the common place of execution\*.

At the opening of parliament these riots became the subject of debate. In the Lords, a motion of inquiry into the conduct of the magistrates of Edinburgh was carried by lord Carteret; while the duke of Newcastle and the chancellor voted for a general, not a specific, inquiry: the motion of lord Carteret was carried, and it appeared that Porteus was justified in firing, on the motive of self-defence.

It followed, of course, that the reprieve was just; and a bill of pains and penalties passed, which disabled Peter Wilson, the provost of Edinburgh, from acting as a magistrate in any part of Great Britain, and also

a fine upon the corporation of that city. Much time was spent this session in debate, on the substance of a bill for reducing the interest of the national debt, and which in the end rejected. The playhouse bill next engrossed the attention of the parliament. The immorality of the stage required amendment; a patent having been injudiciously granted to sir Richard Steele, Colley Cibber, and Booth, which gave them the right to act plays without the license of any officer. The next bill was to restore the authority formerly given to the master of the revels, and usually exercised by the chamberlain, vesting in him the power of allowing and refusing what seemed to him improper.

The year was marked with some important events: the appearance of the prince in the opposition party. He was now thirty years of age, and had received a foreign

\* Coxe's Life of Walpole, vol. ii., p. 303.

prince of Wales, and the princess, by another marriage between the prince royal and the princess Amelia, sister to the prince of Wales. The conduct of Frederick, king of Prussia, in the interest from that of his brother-in-law, George, irritated the latter, that he ceased to desire the present majesty conceived a strong dislike to William, which was increased by the latter join of Austria against Hanover. The prince of Wales, taught to expect this union, and having for his aunt, the queen of Prussia, that the princess had an attachment for him, his royal highness, when of age of twenty-one, employed La Mothe, an officer, to inform the queen, that, provided the majesties would sanction the plan, the prince would go *incognito* to Berlin, and marry the princess. He received the intelligence with joy, and promised the secret inviolable, except to the king. Her majesty the next morning informed the English ambassador, supposing that he would share her satisfaction, and acting under an imperative sense of duty, he gave information to the king of England, who

him into the company of Chesterfield, Cob-  
 ey, and sir William Wyndham, all members  
 of the opposition. Pitt, Lyttleton, and the Grenvilles,  
 his associates, all of whom joined in pointing  
 out his talents against the ministerial party. Swift,  
 Thomson, condemned and satirized the minister;  
 his associates, the prince was most charmed  
 with the conversation and manners of Bolingbroke, who  
 presented the theories of a perfect government, led the  
 prince to believe the cause of opposition to be that of  
 liberty. Elated by the bubble of popularity, the  
 prince continued on obtaining an explanation respecting his  
 exclusion from public affairs; and suddenly he requested  
 leave of his royal father, in which he demanded to  
 be sent to campaign in the imperial army, to have an increase  
 of his royal father, in which he demanded to  
 and that a suitable settlement of marriage might  
 be made for him. It was proposed to the prince to marry  
 the princess of Saxe Gotha. His royal highness sent for  
 Baron de Borck, the Prussian minister, to whom he expressed  
 his objection at being compelled to marry a stranger whom  
 he had never seen, at a time that he was sincerely attached  
 to the cause of Prussia, whose alliance would have given  
 strength to the crown of England. Baron de Borck,  
 cautious as to write the particulars of his conversa-  
 tion to the prince of Wales to his royal master, which  
 might have fallen into the hands of the English king,  
 expressed his anger against his son. The marriage of the  
 princess of Saxe Gotha being arranged by  
 royal majesty, lord Delaware went early in the spring  
 to the princess of Saxe Gotha, to conduct the future princess  
 to England; she arrived on the 25th of April, and  
 the marriage was solemnized two days afterwards.  
 The beauty, and amiable qualities of the princess  
 made the alliance a subject of happiness to the prince; but  
 he could not but be dissatisfied to see his father  
 improve his situation with regard to his father.  
 An income of fifty thousand pounds was thought very  
 good, and was frequently made the subject of animad-  
 version by the members of the opposition. Soon after his

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bill was rejected, and all the circumstances  
widen the breach between the king and  
Such became the irritated state of the pair  
the year following his marriage, when his  
with indications of approaching labour, he  
her from Hampton Court, where the royal  
residing, to St. James's palace, where she  
night delivered of a princess, without the  
queen, and those officers of state, whose  
have been to be present. The king, to show  
ordered the following notice to be sent by  
king has commanded me to acquaint you  
that his majesty most heartily rejoices at the  
the princess, but that your carrying away  
from Hampton Court, the then residence  
queen, and the family, under the pains and  
tions of immediate labour, to the immen  
hazard both of the princess and her child  
warnings, for a week before, to have made  
preparations for this happy event, without  
majesty or the queen with the circumstances

Hollings and Mrs. Cannon of the princess's situation: says, "As soon as I had their authority I would not fail to inform your majesty therewith, and to beg you to inform of it at the same time.—I am, &c. FREDERICK."

On the delivery of the princess, on the 1st of August, informed lord Harrington and sir Robert Walpole that the princess had twice, in the preceding week, her labour coming on, and had come on that afternoon at the palace; but finding it go off, had returned to court. The prince made the same statement to the queen and to the two princesses the next morning.

On the 3rd of August, the prince, having received a message from the king by lord Essex, wrote in the most respectful manner a statement of what had happened, and of the advice which the physicians had given, that the princess was near her time; and concluded with asking permission to lay himself at the feet of his majesty on the following day. This letter the prince accompanied with a letter from the queen, in which he begged her assistance to return to his royal father.

After other supplicatory letters having been sent to the king without obtaining a hope of pardon, his majesty on the 10th of September addressed his son. Having recapitulated his faults, as regarded the princess, the king thus proceeds: "Your extravagant and undutiful behaviour, in so essential a manner as to prevent the birth of an heir to my crown, is such an evidence of premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your father, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated, or disguised, by specious promises only."

But the whole tenor of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you.

And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me, and to the queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall



not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be the resort of them, who, under the appearance of an agent to you, foment the division which you have in your family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole.

" In this situation I will receive no reply : but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most resent. In the mean time it is my pleasure that you should go to St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. I leave for the present leave to the princess the care of my daughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider her education.

(Signed)

" G. R. "

A copy of these letters was given to each of the ministers in England, and to the British ambassadors at foreign courts. At length the chancellor, Hardwicke, resolved on trying an interview with sir Robert Walpole, who was conceived to be an enemy to the prince. An interesting account of that interview is to be seen in the Orford papers from which an inference may be drawn, that, but for the personal feelings of the minister, who felt conscious that his dismissal must have followed a reconciliation between the king and his son, an adjustment of matters might have taken place, through the exertions of the chancellor, who was sincere in desiring it. No abatement having taken place in the state of animosity which existed in the family, the king made the dukes of Grafton and Richmond and the earl of Pembroke, bearers of his notice to the prince, which commanded his royal highness, with his family and household, to retire from St. James's palace ; and the prince made his residence at Norfolk house, in St. James's square. Towards the close of this year, the queen, whose health appeared for some time declining, was so much worse as to be obliged to acknowledge the nature of her complaint, which being a rupture, she had been induced to conceal from the

delicacy. She bore her sufferings, which were very acute during the last twelve days, with great fortitude and patience, and ended her life with calm resignation on the 11th of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, without admitting the prince of Wales into her presence. She was very desirous to have implored his mother's forgiveness. She was sincerely regretted by her royal consort, and by the nation.

### CHAPTER XXIII.

#### GEORGE II (CONTINUED.)

At the death of queen Caroline, Walpole lost his firm support: she was endowed with an uncommon share of prudence, to which she added great prudence in the part she took in politics. Her late majesty had always joined in opinion with, and had promoted the views of the minister, and maintained a constant favourable impression of him in the king's mind, which others about the royal presence were endeavouring to change; and now a new prospect was opened by the intrigues of a strong party in the cabinet, who opposed the measures adopted by the minister. At the opening of this session of parliament the addresses of condolence on the death of the queen were followed by a memorial from the English merchants, complaining of cruelties and injuries committed by the Spaniards in America, which was answered by the king requiring the punishment of the Spanish offenders, and an entire change of conduct; but the opposition, who had nothing so much at heart as to displace the minister, sir Robert Walpole, expected to effect his removal by provoking him into a war: they therefore excited the anger of the parties by every means in their power. It was proved that Spain had withheld the money stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht to be paid to England, and the minister resolved on declaring

Ministries of war against Spain ; upon which the French minister at the Hague, seeing the preparations making in England, said that his master, by treaty, would be obliged to assist Spain.

Meanwhile petitions, highly coloured, stating the continued provocations of the Spaniards, were presented, and formed the subject of debate during the whole of this session. The minister urged peaceful measures ; but the king shewed a disposition for war, which was ably seconded by the duke of Newcastle. On a motion for producing the papers which had passed from this government to the ministers of France and Spain, Sir Robert Walpole requested time to obtain an answer to propositions which were then going from this government to Madrid ; but said, that if they did not prove satisfactory, he should himself wish that every paper relating to that business should be laid before the house. This moderation in the prime minister satisfied his friends, and pacified his enemies, but only for a short time. Sir Thomas Fitzgibbon, known as Don Thomas Geraldino, the Spanish minister, caballed with the leaders of the opposition, and fomented the general discontent by openly saying, that the English ministers imposed upon the people in leading them to think Spain would recede in the least from its right to search the English ships\*. In the course of debate some secrets were spoken by the opposition members, which ought only to have been known in the cabinet. After much acrimonious argument, the minister, by great management, and seeming to

\* In consequence of the New World having been discovered by a Spaniard, Pope Alexander VI. made an investiture of it to Ferdinand the Catholic, on which chimerical right Spain made an exclusive claim to America. Portugal was the next to form a settlement in the Brazils, and after the reign of Philip II. the Dutch, French, and English, found settlements there also. Still Spain maintained her original right, and kept up the practice of searching ships by their guarda costas in the American seas. By the treaty of 1670, England was confirmed in her right of dominion in the West Indies, and from that time the commerce between England and America was connived at and quietly permitted ; but in 1737, the councils of Spain altered their system ; they wanted to restrain the trade to the Asiento ships, according to the ninth article of the treaty of Utrecht. The English merchants, from custom, considered they had a right to the mode of traffic so long allowed, and volumes were written respecting the depredations of the English and the Spaniards ; and to these were added disputes on the right to cutlogwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to collect salt in the island of Tortuga ; the limits of Carolina were likewise contested.

agree in feeling with the exasperated party, proposed waiting only a sufficient period to arrange that amicably which, he declared, in the end should be done. Thus he moderated the most violent, and the session concluded with the adoption of every precaution that was likely to be necessary in the events of defence or attack. A few days after the session had closed, the princess of Wales gave birth to a son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne under the title of George III.

The attention of government for the remaining part of the year was employed in framing convention articles, by which plenipotentiaries from England and Spain were to meet at Madrid, for the purpose of adjusting the differences of the two nations. On that occasion, however, Keene, who acted for England, was guilty of a mean equivocation, in concealing the knowledge that Spain did not intend to resign her right to search the ships in the American seas. When the articles of the convention were brought into the house, great dissatisfaction was testified by the opposition members, among whom was the prince of Wales.

It had been for some time the intention of some of the party to withdraw themselves from the parliament-house, under an impression that all their efforts to maintain the honour of their country proving ineffectual, they would cease to interfere in its concerns. With this view, sir William Wyndham, at the opening of the session, declared it to be his intention, and that of his friends, to retire from the duties of members of parliament. "Perhaps," he said, "when another parliament shall succeed, I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity. I therefore appeal, sir, to a future, free, uninfluenced house of commons. Let it be the judge of my conduct and that of my friends on this occasion." To this secession the minister replied with equal energy, that "The friends of the nation thanked them for pulling off the mask. We can be upon our guard against open rebellion," said sir Robert Walpole, "but 'tis difficult to guard against secret traitors\*."

\* *Coxe's Life of Walpole.*

This conduct on the part of the opposition was a subject of triumph to Walpole, and of disappointment to the seceders. In their absence several bills were passed which were calculated to prove advantageous to trade and commerce generally, and to the manufactures of England. But the negotiation with Spain was at a stand, as the Spanish monarch complained of the insult offered by the continuance of a British squadron in the Mediterranean, and refused any compliance while such a scourge hung over him. Besides, the South Sea Company refused to pay a sum of sixty-eight thousand pounds, which the minister had erroneously allowed to pass as one of the conditions of the convention. Spain declared there was no dependence on the promises of the British, and preparations for war were made by both parties. When it was declared in London, the bells of the churches rang, and great joy appeared throughout the nation; the prince of Wales joined in the procession that accompanied the *humble* into the city; he condescended to stop at the door of the Rose tavern, Temple-bar, and drink success to the war. The stocks rose instantaneously, as it was anticipated that the possessions of Spain in the West Indies would fall an easy prey to the British; and our merchants looked to the acquisition of the mines of Peru and Potosi, hopes which proved to be only fallacious dreams! England stood alone in the contest. France offered to mediate, but was preparing herself by sea and land to join Spain when a fit opportunity should offer; while by her menaces of sending an army into the Low Countries, she secured the neutrality of Holland in the warfare.

Ships had been equipped when first hostilities were spoken of, and sent out under command of commodore Anson, who were intended to act in union with a fleet to sail under admiral Vernon, the operation of which was actually frustrated by the mistakes and delays of the ministry. After losing more than half his men by the scurvy, and his shipping being dispersed by a storm, Anson took the small city of Païta, on the coast of Chili, where no resistance was made; and after spending

three years in perils and disasters, he, by his undeviating perseverance, got possession of a Spanish galleon, a prize of more than three hundred thousand pounds, which brought abundance to certain individuals, but nothing towards indemnifying the public for the loss of a valuable fleet. A truly formidable armament, containing a vast number of seamen and land forces, commanded by Vernon and Cathcart, and, after the death of the latter, by general Wentworth, proceeded to the coast of New Spain, and attempted to storm Carthagena, in which attempt the greatest difficulties were surmounted with unexpected ease, and there seemed nothing wanting but the actual possession of the place, so that a ship was despatched with communications, and England entered into public rejoicings on receiving the intelligence. Nothing therefore could equal the disappointment that followed, which was the effect of disagreement between the commanders, each of whom was more anxious to disgrace his rival than to procure honour for his country. After suffering the various calamities of miscarriage in their principal object, with the consequences of a bad climate, disease, and a mortality, the small remainder of the adventurous fleet returned to bring discredit on their country, and to cause murmur and discontent throughout the kingdom.

On the 15th of November the king acquainted his parliament that he required their meeting at this unusual season for the purpose of having their advice and assistance in sustaining the war now declared against Spain. During this session Walpole was sorely pressed by his opponents, and was actually compelled to yield in many matters that were carried in direct opposition to his former measures. Several laws, however, were enacted which were of utility to trade and commerce. Some premiums were continued in favour of navigation, and additional bounties were allowed to ships employed in the whale fishery during the war, and for the protection of men from impressment.

News of the capture of Porto Bello reached London before the prorogation of this parliament, and filled the advocates for the war with the most confident belief in its ultimate success.



They were now ready to take to themselves the whole of the undertaking, and the courage and bravery of favourite Vernon was spoken of with every exaggeration that could add to their triumph and the depression of the minister. The opposition accounted him the instigator of their own election, and in their correspondence they represented Walpole and his friends as secret enemies of the person and to the success of his cause; and that they were the defenders of his honour and the pledges of his future conduct to the public: sentiments which operated on the irascible temper of Vernon, and failed not to impress his mind with prepossessions which afterwards proved injurious to the public arms.

An expedition was immediately prepared to intercept the Spanish fleet, under sir John Norris: in this the duke of Cumberland, the king's second son, went as a volunteer on board the ship *Victory*. Another squadron sailed to the South Sea, and a formidable fleet, under sir Chaloner Ogle, was sent for the northern coast of New Spain.

During the king's visit to Hanover, at the conclusion of the year, the division in the cabinet grew to such a height that it was with difficulty that the animosities of Walpole and Newcastle could be moderated by their different views so as to allow of their remaining together in office. But this could allay their altercations, which were even carried into the antechamber of the sovereign. Walpole was apprehensive lest England should be left wholly unprotected, if his rival was for sending all the ships to secure success in America. At this time Walpole was fully aware of the intrigues of France in influencing the continental powers to prevent the forming any alliance with England and Spain; but the death of Frederick-William, king of Prussia, changed the course of politics: his son and successor, Frederick II., received in silence the proposals of France and England; waiting the opportunity to act as might be most for his own interest. While things were in this unsettled state, the death of the emperor Charles VI. left Maria Theresa the whole Austrian inheritance, with

matic sanction, included the kingdoms of Hungary and Transylvania, the province of Silesia, Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, Carinthia, Carinola, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placenza. The only known enemy was the elector of Bavaria, who had refused to join the league in favour of the female succession. A more formidable pretender appeared in the person of Frederick, king of Prussia. He revived some ancient family claims to four duchies in Silesia, and instead of making claims in the usual manner, he marched into Silesia at the head of thirty thousand men, to enforce his rights. He did not make any motion to negotiate until he saw himself master of its capital, Breslau: he then proposed assisting to protect her German dominions, and aid in placing her son Francis, duke of Tuscany, on the Imperial throne, and that she would cede to him Lower Silesia; but Maria, alarmed that, by yielding this point, other pretenders would invade her territory, sent troops into Silesia to expel the Prussians. In the sequel, after losing the battle of Molwitz, she was forced to yield to the arms of Prussia. This enraged other claimants, who were all, openly or secretly, supported by France: this occasion being seized by Fleury as favourable to his plan of crushing the power of Austria.

Before the close of the session, violent debates took place in the house of Lords respecting the measures adopted by the minister, which were severely censured by the duke of Devonshire. In the Commons the opposition party lost much of its energy which used to animate it, by the death of sir William Wyndham. One of its leading members, Mr. Sandys, gave notice that he intended on the following Friday to move a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the chancellor of the exchequer, and hoped that he would be in his place in that house. The minister answered with great firmness that he should; and then had recourse to a Latin quotation, to signify his freedom from any consciousness of crime. Upon which Pulteney observed, that the quotation was erroneously spoken. Walpole defended the mode of speaking it, the other remained obstinate in his



opinion, and offered a wager of a guinea, and referred the decision to Hardinge, clerk of the house. The wager was decided against Walpole, who, throwing the guinea to Pelham, the latter caught it, and exclaimed, as he held it up in his fingers, "It is the only money which I have received from the Treasury for many years, and it shall be the last."

On the 15th of February, the day Sandys opened his promised motion against the minister, many of the Commons secured their places at six in the morning, and the concourse of people without was excessive. By the course of the accusations brought against the minister, every misfortune which had befallen England, since the peace of Utrecht to the present period, was attributed to his mal-administration. Laying particular emphasis on the treaty of Hanover, and having thrown England into the power of France, he ended his statement by urging an address to the king, that "he would be pleased to remove sir Robert Walpole, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, &c., &c., from his majesty's presence and councils for ever."

Long debates followed, in which those in favour of the motion endeavoured to prove a species of accumulative guilt against Walpole, drawn from a long series of supposed misconduct, maintained from strong presumptions, and founded upon public fame and notoriety; while others objected to this mode of prosecution, and declared for inquiry into facts, which proceeding would bring to light the enemies of their country. Mr. Shippen, whom all parties allowed to be an honourable man, who never concealed his principles which had always been in favour of the Stuarts, and who money could never bribe, declared it was immaterial to him who was in, or who was out; and saying, he would not concern himself in the question, he withdrew from the house and was followed by thirty-four of his friends.

The field was now open to retaliation. Walpole availed himself of the opportunity, and entered on his defence with a great share of self-confidence; arising from the disavowal of principles of his several opponents, who agreed only in their opposition to ministerial measures, and in their longing

pension. After arraiguing the judgment on the imputed accumulation of guilt, and the commission of any one crime, Walpole concluded in the following words: "But I must think, it is his majesty to remove one of his servants, and not to allege any particular crime against him, for the most encroachments that was ever made upon the crown; and, therefore, for the sake of the crown, without any regard for my own, I hope all will be done with due regard for our constitution, and for the lives of the crown, without which our constitution is preserved, will be against this motion\*," and was negatived in both houses.

relating to foreign politics, and which, in its consequences, proved injurious to England. In 1741, a subsidy to the queen of Hungary, in its course through parliament the measure was proposed as one that could only serve the protection of the crown without adding to the possessions, or to the power of Austria. After the grant of three hundred thousand pounds made, Walpole endeavoured to effect a connection between the cabinets of Prussia and Austria, by means of staying the ambition of France. This might have succeeded, but for the interference of Great Britain, telling the Austrian minister that the English would be willing to shed the last drop of their blood for the service of Austria; a persuasion which induced Austria to rely on the protection of France, and the English, notwithstanding the power of Prussia. Austria was thus surrounded on all sides. The elector of Bavaria soon joined the emperor of Bohemia, the French poured their aid into Hungary, and the English monarch, to save Maria Theresa. That parliament closed, and, contrary to the advice of his most sincere friends, he visited his German dominions, during the elections.

\* *Coxe's Life of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. iii., p. 200.

A violent contest ensued at Westminster: the members of the opposition used every exertion in favour of their friends; but the minds of the people were inflamed by the ill success of the war, and increased by anticipated reports of future disasters. The power of France was exaggerated, and the decline of England foretold, in a pamphlet entitled "A Key to some late important Transactions, in several Letters from a certain Great Man, nobody knows where, wrote nobody knows when, and directed to nobody knows who."

In this, and similar publications, the obloquy attending every failure was thrown upon the minister, and at the opening of the new parliament on the 4th of December, he was deserted by many of his friends. The military had appeared around the hustings during the Westminster elections: this circumstance had given umbrage to the people. It was now resolved, that "the presence of armed soldiers at an election of members of parliament was a high infringement of the liberty of the subject, a manifest violation of the freedom of election, and an open defiance of the laws and constitution."

Walpole, irritated by the continued taunts of his opponents, found it needful at the first meeting after the adjournment, that he should offer his resignation; which the king unwillingly accepted. He was created earl of Orford on the 9th of February, and on the 11th he resigned. Great difficulties arose in forming a new administration, but it was done at the Whig interest: Pulteney was at the head of it, and created earl of Bath; but so many were the aspirants to office, that the greatest dissatisfaction was manifested towards the new minister by those who were left out of the cabinet.

Walpole had felt a great desire to resign at the time when Sandys brought the several charges against him. On his pressing this desire to the king, his majesty remonstrated saying, "Will you desert me in my greatest difficulty?" and the minister continued in office. For this conduct Walpole's friends greatly blamed him; but throughout his political career he manifested a great deficiency in the firmness of his resolutions, a quality so peculiarly necessary in those

at the helm of a state\*, that, without it, this minister, who possessed a complete knowledge of cabinet finesse, and a persuasive eloquence which had often carried conviction into the mouths of his adversaries, ended a long and difficult career, and at length quitted his station from compulsory causes.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to institute a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the late minister Walpole, the result of which was the three following charges against him:—undue influence in elections—granting valent contracts—peculation, and profusion in the expenditure of secret service money. As each of these charges was examined separately, the ignorance and partial conduct of the committee became more and more apparent, the design of the enemies was wholly defeated, and the ex-minister continued to enjoy the confidence of his sovereign.

To defend the interests of Hanover, the king of England sent a body of his forces into the Netherlands. The French prevented a junction of the British with the Austrian troops, assembled a large army on the river Maane, where they had the local advantages, having cut off the means of provisions to the English, that when the king of England arrived in the camp, he found his army in a deplorable condition; so surrounded on every side that a retreat was impossible, and he was compelled to see his soldiers starve, or to fight the enemy at certain disadvantage. He chose the latter; a battle was fought near Dettingen, in which the impetuosity of the French decided the fate of the day entirely in favour of the English. The Duke of Cumberland was wounded in the calf of the leg, the king's person was greatly exposed during the engagement.

The next campaign opened with the siege of Fribourg by the French, who proceeded to invest the city of Tournay. The

Perhaps, was there (if I may be permitted to make the observation in this more apparent proof of the virtue of this steady principle than the period of example of him who directed that administration, and who, by a continued to one principle, founded on reason and expediency, carried a victory in though opposed by the strongest weapons that power could raise against

bought the victory with almost all great  
were lost by the vanquished.

The success of the elector of Bavaria, &  
French troops under marshal Broglio, ob-  
duchess to quit Vienna, and retire to Presb.  
There taking her infant son in her arms,  
Palatines in the following words: "The  
to which, by the permission of divine Providence,  
reduced, is attended with such dangerous  
I have no hopes of extricating myself from  
and powerful succours. Abandoned by  
cuted by my enemies, and attacked by my  
have no other resource left than your fidelity  
you alone I depend for relief, and into your  
with confidence, my crown, the son of your  
my just cause\*." Tired with vindictive feelings  
to protect their sovereign, the Palatines drew  
exclaimed "We will die for our king† Maria

So sincere were their exertions in her  
was saved; but Prague became the next ob-  
yielded to the valour of count Saxe, natu-  
tas II., king of Poland. He took it by an  
occasion shewed that his generosity and his  
his valour, as he preserved the town from



returned to his own dominions, having completed on for a marriage between his youngest daughter, Louisa, and the prince royal of Denmark. About France lost her able minister Fleury\*, who had during his long administration to maintain peace encouraging the intrigues of other courts; and possessed neither the genius of Richelieu nor the Mazarine, he was more generally useful to his benevolence of his disposition led him to pass in the cabinet; yet he had sufficient ardour to war against Maria Theresa, when in his eighty-pecting that the dismemberment of Austria could set the glory of the Bourbons. He was succeeded of first minister by cardinal de Tencin. The latter vation at Rome to the favour of the Stuarts, and in a plan for their restoration.

had frequently given information to the cabinet of kings of the Pretender; for the Spanish minister who had succeeded Alberoni, being a weak man, incautiously of the plan in contemplation to execute article, which formed one of the conditions to Vienna; namely, to replace the Stuarts on the land. The whisperings of Ripperda had reached Orford, and though he seldom appeared now in his house, he watched with great interest the welfare of his country. His warnings, however, had been disregarded. Until the king, on the 18th of February, sent a message to his parliament, acquainting them that the son of the Pretender had quitted Rome, and was on his road to solicit the aid of troops for the purpose of invading

Henry. at the advanced age of seventy, had the presumption to address his royal majesty, the consort of Louis XV. in a highly improper manner. Her majesty was sensible of the power he held over the mind of the king, but she had sufficient prudence to inform the monarch of the conduct of his favourite, but made her father the sole object of her complaint, and declared herself willing to follow his advice. Stanislaus, having observed his daughter to bury the secret for ever in her own bosom, observing that royal princesses are placed on such an eminence, as almost to render it impossible that disrespectful propositions to be made them, unless they encourage, to a certain degree, such advances." The queen had the discretion to follow the paternal counsel.—*St. John's Memoirs, vol. 1, page 26.*

it may not be amiss to give such an account of James II. as can be collected from the various works now extant.

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## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES II.

It will be remembered that king James II. by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Alphonso, Duke of Modena, had two children: James Edward, born in 1688, and a daughter born in France who died in 1712. On the return of James II. to Paris, after his futile attempt to regain Scotland, in 1716, he had a hasty interview with the Duke of Burgundy, with whose conduct he was justly offended, and who had taught him to suspect the sincerity of his professions, and under the pretence of proceeding to his residence at Bar in Lorraine, he made a private visit to the Bois de Boulogne, where he met the Spanish and French Ambassadors, and there met the Spanish and French Ambassadors, and there met the Spanish and French Ambassadors.

stinguished by the appellation of Chevalier de St.

. He was then in his thirtieth year, and being much  
by his friends to marry, he employed general Dillon, in  
ginning of 1718, to select for him a suitable consort.  
discoursing on the subject, it occurred that the princess  
tina Sobieski, daughter of prince James Sobieski and  
Elizabeth Amelia, of the house of Newbrough, would  
oper alliance. The lady was grand-daughter to the  
ohn Sobieski, of Poland; she was also related to the  
Portugal, and to the electors of Treves, Bavaria, and  
e; and it was agreed that the general should proceed  
ately to the residence of her father at Olaw, in Silesia, of  
province he was the governor. The negotiation was  
ed promptly, and a plan was arranged for the princess  
et the chevalier at Bologna, whither she was to  
ducted as secretly as possible on account of the  
court, who, it was supposed, would be against the  
er forming a matrimonial alliance. In pursuance of  
an, Mr. Charles Wogan, an Irish gentleman, received  
tions to proceed to Silesia for the purpose of conduct-  
e princess. As some time intervened before the prin-  
mmenced her journey, the English ministers, who had  
intelligence of what was intended, found means to  
the emperor of Austria, and he ordered that the prin-  
ould be stopped at Inspruck; and also found a pretext  
ive prince James Sobieski of the government of Silesia,  
confine him a prisoner at Ausburg.

proceeding being deemed contrary to the law of  
s, the empress dowager, aunt to the princess Clemen-  
nd the electors, her uncles, made great interest for her  
on. The pope added all his influence, so that the em-  
became uneasy, and assured the English minister that  
ld not any longer answer it to his conscience to detain  
r man's wife; and added his opinion that, were this  
ge frustrated, the chevalier would form some other  
e. But the British court still persisted in requiring her  
on, as appears from the following letter from S——y



"king seen the great uneasiness which the emperor  
"count, and how desirous soever he may be to  
"means agree to the measures proposed by his  
"is but too plain, that these people who take  
"plete it's marriage, will take no less hereafter  
"their zeal will be still the same; and, therefore,  
"the ties of friendship and interest to reject them  
"granted, may perhaps first affect himself by the  
"attend such a compliance: for the king's faithful  
"the pernicious consequences of it, from the consid  
"Pretender will get by this alliance abroad, and the  
"disaffected here. We have always looked upon  
"crowns as inseparable, and it is true the emperor  
"if he thought so too, but in all that has been trans  
"was concerned, and, to speak properly, he has only  
"of serving him at our own expense, in opposition  
"that might be given to the contrary.

"I must confess, the king in these proceedings had  
"public good as to the emperor's private interest:  
"however, has reaped very great advantages by them  
"tremely pleased to see it. But now, if, on the o  
"what the emperor has done for his majesty, we shall  
"to the bare stopping of the princess Sobieski. How  
"the less sensible of his friendship, and even acknow  
"favour

"But the princess was, no sooner confined, than

"And if this should be mentioned in parliament, how can we the emperor will observe his treaties, when he gives such an impression on a conscience managed by a Roman catholic clergy is capable through all the ties of friendship and alliance: so that no question is to know, if the emperor has determined his choice he will be for the king, or for the Pretender. I dare say his majesty did not think this would be the consequence, when the king's consent to release the princess; but when he has considered the matter, he must be convinced, that there is no other way far, from offering the least violence to the emperor's conscience; but he must become an entire friend, or an utter enemy. His majesty has him consider, that as conscience would make him avoid the inconveniences of two evils, so prudence should make him choose the least of them: besides, he is convinced that this match is not good for Prince James would have the world believe, because we have from very good hands, and know by intercepted letters from the Pretender's people, that there was no contract signed, all being as they pretended, the marriage has never been consummated. There are a hundred instances of the pope making such marriages void on various occasions. His behaviour I am sure to the emperor, as well as to the archduchesses are no longer safe in the emperor's court. Nay, if clandestine marriages ought in conscience to be refused, By preventing or dissolving this marriage, his Imperial majesty will stop to those inevitable ill consequences, to which he must expose himself and his means to those best ally, by allowing of it; and the pope will undouble his conscience, by dispensing with a law, that is no further quiet than it is convenient. Thus, sir, being fully informed of the marriage, as well as by former ones, of the king's sentiments concerning the Imperial court, you will not fail to make all necessary representations to the Emperor, of the inconveniences his majesty foresees. We are all of the same opinion, and this minister is very sensible of what it is to us, now at the opening of the parliament, that it is perceived we have so little weight with the emperor, as that he is under the least scruple of doing us such a piece of service.

"I am, Sir, &c

This answer confirmed the emperor in his determination to detain the princess. Meanwhile, Mr. Wogan carried all the intelligence he could procure to the king at St. George, had orders to return to Germany, and means contrive to effect the liberation of the lady. Mr. Wogan accordingly went again to Inspruck, where he

December, and having obtained an interview with Chatteau-deau, gentleman-usher to the princess mother, who had accompanied and remained with her daughter Clementina, they fixed upon a plan which, however, it was impossible to execute without admitting another female in their confidence: Wogan, to avoid suspicion, repaired to Strasburg, and there waited a favourable opportunity. In February 1719, he received notice that the guard had been doubled at Inspruck, in consequence of a rumour that prince James had disappeared from Rome, and it was supposed he meant to liberate the captive princess. A letter followed, which said the chevalier had been seized at Voghera, and was conducted by the emperor's troops to Milan; but an express, sent secretly by Chatteau-deau, informed Wogan that the prince had gone to Spain; it contained further instructions for his conduct, and a procuration for the marriage. Not a moment was lost in delay: Wogan proceeded with all speed to Inspruck, but he then found he had undertaken a work of great difficulty; nor did he surmount the various obstacles which met him at every step, till the 28th of April.

At two o'clock of the morning of that day, the princess Clementina Sobieski effected her escape from prison; having left a female in her bed, who, being in their confidence, would contrive to gain as much time as possible for the fugitives: her progress, however, was considerably retarded by the horses having been engaged all along the road for the princess of Baden, who, with her suite, preceded them a short distance. On the 2d of May they reached Rome, from whence a messenger was despatched to Rome, and returned on the 7th, and on the 9th the marriage was celebrated by proxy. The prince was represented by the duke de Monti Bouloures: the princess proceeded the same day to Rome, where she was soon after joined by her consort. On the 20th of December, 1720, she gave birth to a son, who received the name of Charles Edward; but the felicity of nuptial happiness met with an early interruption. A failure of the Pretender in Scotland, his former favourite, earl of Mar, had been supplanted in the confidence.

by colonel Hay, of the Scotch guards, who acted as a minister to the prince, whilst his wife filled the office of lady of honour to the princess. The latter soon found a cause of jealousy in her husband's neglect, and having taken the advice of some of her friends, she tried the following stratagem to get rid of her rival. She got Hay created earl of Inverness, and his lady deputed to go to Scotland, to make certain engagements which were considered might be favourable to the Pretender. On her arrival at Dover she was met by the agents of the English ministry, who treated her with great civil politeness, but conducted her to London, and placed her in Newgate, from which place she was released by the order of George I. She returned immediately to Rome, and the Pretender's attachment increased by the circumstance. Influence induced the chevalier to consent that his son, only five years old, should pass from the hands of the English to be under the tuition of her brother, Mr. Murray, who was made earl of Dunbar.

The birth of a second son on the 6th of March, 1725, and he was called Henry, restored, but for a very short period, the domestic happiness. On the arrival of Dunbar to take the charge of his pupil, the princess behaved with great violence, and threatened to separate from her husband. Upon receiving a proposal, the Pretender wrote two letters, one dated Rome, 1st November, 1725; another on the 11th of the same month, both of which he endeavoured to persuade the princess that she was only by the advice of his enemies that she had adopted this notion; and ended the last with these words: "Do not longer resist these last efforts of my tenderness, which only your return to revive afresh, and never more to abate will have an end." However, as the chevalier made no change in his mode of life, the princess executed the resolution she had formed, and on the 13th instant retired into the convent of the Benedictine nuns of St. Cecilia, having explained by letters to the Pope, and to cardinal Paolucci, that she had so acted for religious motives, because the earl of Dunbar was appointed governor to her son, whereby his religion and his person would be endangered.

under the orders of marshal Saxe, were composed of invading England, but which afterwards failed: it, however, led to the declaration of war between France and England in the year following.

In the spring of 1745, prince Charles, James II., took leave of his father at Rome, and took a vow in the presence of the pope and his cardinals, that he would never forsake his religion, he, with Patrick Gordon, the marquis of Tullibardine, Gordon of Straloch, and a few attendants, passed through France, and visited Louis in his camp. He obtained from him fifty thousand pounds in money, and two thousand in arms for the use of Scotland; and accompanied by Boqueseuille, with twenty ships of the line, sailed for Brest, in order to land at the nearest opportunity. The appearance of a superior fleet, commanded by the duke of Brittany, caused them to turn back, and a violent gale, which greatly damaged their shipping, so as to render it impossible to attempt the intended invasion. The prince and his small vessel, in which they reached the west coast of Scotland, and standing for the coast of Lochabar, landed on the isles of Mull and Skie on the 10th of August.

Charles knelt down to kiss the earth on which he stood, and then proceeded to the castle of Skie, where he remained for some time.

father king, and having increased his number by many followers from the mountains, he proceeded to Edinburgh, which he entered on the 15th of September without opposition, but could not possess himself of the castle, as he was wholly deficient of cannon to besiege it. Here he again performed the ceremony of proclaiming his father king, and promised to dissolve the union of Scotland with Great Britain. Meanwhile sir John Cope, who from some (hitherto unknown) cause had allowed the rebel forces to proceed and augment their numbers when it was in his power to have subdued them by an attack with his regular troops in their descent from the mountains, was now advancing towards Edinburgh. Prince Charles led his undisciplined troops to attack them, and a battle was fought at Preston-Pans, in which the rebels, by their natural courage and bravery, obtained a complete victory. Had the young prince then pursued his fortune, and proceeded immediately, before the troops had returned from the campaign in Flanders, it is probable that he would have gained the object of his undertaking; but he indulged himself in the pageantry of royalty at Holyrood House; and he was induced to wait the arrival of succours from France and Spain, which he had good reason to expect from the receipt of two letters bearing date Paris, 10th of August; one from Louis de Bouillon, containing assurances from the French monarch that every thing was ready to send as soon as it should be known the prince had reached Scotland; the other, from the prince de Campo Florida, promising him equal assistance from Spain. Disappointment followed, as the promised assistance did not come, and the delay gave the English ministry time to furnish themselves with every means likely to impede his progress.

Since the rebellion of 1715, the English government had kept a watchful eye towards the Highlands of Scotland. Some plausible schemes, proposed by general Wade, for the civilization of the inhabitants in that part, had procured him a grant of that province; but the severity of his manner, and his ignorance of the country, rendered him a very unfit person to be a paciliator; and as early as 1735, a plan of rebellion was pro-



created the murmur of discontent, the  
affected would add numbers to his standard.  
impressions he declared, in a council of  
lution to proceed to England, and previous  
issued the following instructions to the

“ You are hereby authorized and directed  
to England, and there notify to my friends  
those in the north and north-west, the way  
which it has hitherto pleased God to find  
for their deliverance. You are to let them  
full intention, in a few days, to move towards  
they will be inexcusable before God and  
all in their power to assist and support me  
taking. What I demand and expect is, that  
as can, should be ready to join me; and  
take care to provide provision and money  
may suffer as little as possible by the war.  
Let them know that there is no more time  
now or never is the word; I am resolved to go.  
If this last should happen, let them judge  
posterity have to expect\*.

> The youthful Charles gained a powerful

of England had been despatched northward, under Wade; and the duke of Cumberland conducted those brought from Flanders, all disciplined men and inured to hardships. These were joined by bodies of volunteers from each county in England, so that the report of their numbers became formidable to the rebel army, whom the duke of Cumberland commanded as general-in-chief, and lord George Murray as lieutenant-general. The young Pretender was their leader: his figure was good, and he appeared taller than any in his company; and as he was dressed in the Highland style, his clothes and bonnet being laced with gold, his general appearance were prepossessing. It was his intention to go from Manchester, through Chester, into Scotland; but finding that impracticable, he turned off by Leek and suddenly entered Derby on the 4th of November, where he held a council of war, in which some of the generals proposed returning to Scotland; and as they were all chiefs of troops, averse to subordination, and contending for pre-eminence, they were unanimous only in their discontent they displayed.

Charles spoke of the troops hourly expected from France; and he was seconded by Perth, Lochiel, and lord George Murray, who all favoured the design of going to London, where a number of their friends were waiting their approach; and the measures adopted by the ministry, who had been opposing the standard of England on Finchley Common, where they were commanded in person, Charles consented to lead his army back.

So rapid was their retreat, that, though the duke of Cumberland's army, headed by the duke of Cumberland, was in the neighbourhood of Coventry, the rebel forces effected their escape unpursued (resting one whole day at Preston) as far as Carlisle, where they had a skirmish with the dragoons belonging to the duke of Cumberland; and with the loss of a few killed and seventy taken prisoners, proceeded to Penrith, and crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, having left a garrison of about four hundred in Carlisle, who were compelled to surrender at discretion a few days after (27 December.) Edinburgh had been put in a state of defence.



by a detachment from Wade's army; Glasgow raised a regiment in the cause of government, and other towns followed the example. Dumfries was fined four thousand pounds for loyalty, and the young Pretender resolved to besiege the castle of Stirling.

The most valiant and enterprising of his followers was lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke, who used his influence successfully in Aberdeenshire; but the most powerful and wealthy of the chieftains was Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, a man of eccentric habits and unfixed principles who had, in 1703, entered the rebellion for the Pretender, had betrayed his plot to the English government; had assisted in suppressing the late rebellion in 1715; and now appeared openly to be against the Pretender, while he secretly exerted his influence in his favour.

At this juncture, the appearance of lord John Drummond with money sent from Spain, and some addition of arms and ammunition from France, revived the spirits of Charles and the courage of his men, for the discontent of the chieftains was now spread throughout the rebel army. Fortune, however, favoured them once more in a battle at Falkirk on the 17th of February, against the royal forces under the command of general Hawley. The royalists were soon thrown into confusion; the horse in the retreat fell upon their own infantry and fled with such precipitation towards Edinburgh, that they left their artillery in the field. The proportion of officers slain in the engagement was accounted extraordinary. The discomfiture to the plans of government gave to the Pretender fresh opportunity to pursue his original intention instead of which he spent his time in a fruitless attempt to subdue Stirling; but the duke of Cumberland, whom the king had appointed to take command of the army in Scotland, arrived in time to secure the posts of Stirling and Perth.

After the battle at Falkirk, Charles fixed his head-quarters at Inverness, from whence he issued the following protest for the house of Culloden: "Charles, prince of Wales, regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and dominions thereunto belonging, to all his majesty's officers civil and military. These are requiring you to protect

defend the house of Culloden and furniture, from any insults or violence that may be done by any person or persons, except such orders as are issued by us. Given at Inverness, 16th February, 1746. By his highness's command\*.

“JO. MURRAY.”

In April the duke crossed the river Spey, without hindrance from the rebel party, who fancied they should have been able to have cut off all the king's troops. On the 16th, the pretender held a council of war, in which it was resolved to go that night and attack the royal army at Nairn; for that being the duke's birth-day, it was supposed that they would enjoy sleep and slumber after the indulgences of the day. In order to execute this plan, the rebels, in the obscurity of the evening, made a circuit of ten miles from their camp at Culloden; but owing to a belief that their intention was discovered, lord George Murray, their commander, ordered a retreat. In the course of that day the duke quitted Nairn, and marched to Culloden, where a desperate battle was fought, and a great victory gained by the royalists, who lost only a small number of their army, whilst nearly three thousand of the rebels were killed on the plains of Culloden. Not content with a victory which was every way decisive, the conquerors refused quarter to the wounded and the defenceless: mercy seemed obliterated by the thirst of vengeance, and the whole country around came a scene of cruelty and desolation.

The victory was followed by the execution of a number of deserters. The duke of Cumberland then took possession of Inverness, which was nine miles distant from the field of battle, and next proceeded to Fort Augustus, from which place he returned to England. The conduct of the leaders, both of the royalists and the rebels, has ever remained inexplicable. That prince Charles should have placed his army in the plains of Culloden, a spot that was embosomed in hills, except on the side next the sea, can only be attributed to his advisers, who appear to have been so tired of their engagement, as to resolve on making any sacrifice to bring the

\* Culloden Papers, page 273.

business to a conclusion. It was observed after the battle, that the English soldiers fought bravely, but that some of the allies did not; nor can the conduct of the English ministry, on an impartial reading of the "Culloden Papers," be held blameless; for it evidently appears that government dealt very disingenuously with the lord president Forbes, a man whose long-tryed service in his sovereign's cause had sufficiently proved his wisdom and integrity. Notwithstanding his past conduct, and his active exertions in 1745, by which he prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who were all ready to join the Pretender, the president had occasion to reproach the minister for the non-performance of former engagements; and in a letter to Mr. Pelham, asked his permission to draw for a small sum that he may pay the amount of monies borrowed, which he and others were compelled to use in aid of government, and which required to be immediately repaid. But it is nowhere mentioned that the injuries which the president's fortune suffered on that occasion were at all compensated.

The grandson of James II., after his defeat at Culloden, was accompanied in his flight by two Irishmen, Sheridan and Sullivan, who found it needful for the preservation of the prince's life that they should separate. On the 19th of April, the prince reached the Glen of Morar; on the 4th of May, he set out for Stornway; on the 9th, he was on his way from South Uist to the Isle of Skye, in female apparel, as *Betty*, the attendant on Florence Macdonald of the Clanranald family. They landed near sir Alexander Macdonald, a staunch friend to government. Miss Macdonald died at his house, and related to lady Margaret the circumstances of having had a companion in disguise: the ladies consulted with Macdonald of Kingsburrow, sir Alexander's steward, and they agreed that he should send the fugitive from that part. The steward went out for that purpose, and met the prince within two miles of his own house, who accosted him, and said, "My life is in your hands, you may dispose of it." The prince was meagre, ill coloured, and overrun with the scab\*.

\* Thus sir Alexander Macdonald describes the affair, as related to him by his steward, in a letter to the lord president, dated Fort Augustus, 29th July, 1746.

and stating that he had remained two nights and days on a rock, beat upon by the rain, without food or repose, Kingsbarrow's compassion was excited by his distress, and he took him that night, 17th of May, to his own house, but carried him away early the next morning on one of his horses, which carried him seven miles to Portree, where he had the good fortune to find a Rasay boat, into which he set foot, and was seen no more in that part. He proceeded to Lochabar and Badenoch, and remained some time on the mountain Benalder, between the countries of Athol and Badenoch, where he endured a succession of hardships such as scarcely any other person has been known to survive.

One great cause of the Pretender's preservation, was the belief that he had been slain; which arose from the following circumstance. Among his friends, who followed as much as possible his track, a party was surprised in a hut on the side of the Benalder mountain, by the soldiers who were in search of him. Having seized them, one named Mackenzie detected his escape, upon which his companions told the soldiers that it was the prince; the soldiers thereupon fled in pursuit and overtook the youth, who, when he found their error, resolved to sacrifice his life, in the hope it might save his master's. He bravely contended with them, refused quarter, and died with his sword in his hand; exclaiming as he fell, "You have killed your prince." The report was believed by many. "We cannot, however," says the biographer of the events of Culloden, "without pride, mention the astonishing fact, that though the sum of thirty thousand pounds sterling was long publicly offered for his apprehension, and though he passed through very many hands, and both the reward and his person were perfectly well known to an intelligent and very inquisitive people, yet no man nor woman was to be found capable of degrading themselves in earning so vast a reward by betraying a fugitive, whom misfortune had thrown upon their generosity\*."

On the 19th of September, 1746, the young Pretender embarked with twenty-five gentlemen and one hundred and

\* Introduction to Culloden Papers p. 2.

seven common men, in a French vessel, sent for that purpose to the coast. In turning the land of Cornwall, they were closely pursued by an English man-of-war; but, favoured by a thick and sudden mist, got out of sight, and arrived, after a passage of ten days, at Roseau, near Morlaix in Bretagne. Charles proceeded immediately to Paris, and met with a kind reception from Louis XV. And here I take my leave of this unfortunate prince, until other events shall render it necessary to return to the subject of his affairs.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

### GEORGE II. (CONCLUDED.)

PREVIOUS to the rebellion of 1745, the monarchs of France and England had, by their several treaties, become principals in the continental war. The duke of Cumberland had fought nobly in the battle of Foutenoy; and though the French were successful in Flanders, the allies had defeated Maria-Theresa in her main object. But the death of the new king, Charles VII., brought things to a peaceable conclusion; as his son, Maximilian Joseph, consented to guarantee the Pragmatic sanction. The electors assembled at Frankfort, and made the husband of Maria-Theresa emperor, under the title of Francis I.; and the confederates, tired of a bloody, but fruitless contest, agreed in forming treaties of peace; yet the French continued their conquests in the Low Countries. In February, marshal Saxe took Brussels, though defended by a garrison of ten thousand men. In April, Louis XV. had taken the command of the army in person, and reduced Antwerp, Mons, Guislain, and Charleroy: thus master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault, he published an edict, in which he re-annexed to his crown all that had formerly belonged to it previous to the peace of Utrecht.

The allied army, which had been compelled to remain

inactive from the superior numbers of the French, received reinforcements of the Hessian troops from Scotland, and a fresh body of Austrians under count Palfy, with Dutch forces under the prince of Waldeck, and again resolved to take the field against the enemy. Saxe still maintained the advantage he had acquired, when the sudden death of Philip of Spain gave the kingdom to his son, Ferdinand VI. The Spaniards and the French retreated from Italy; and Genoa surrendered to the Austrians, but was afterwards recovered by the valour of its inhabitants.

The naval transactions of this period reflected no honour on England. Commodore Peyton, by his timidity in declining an engagement with the French, lost fort St. David's, and other British factories, on the coast of Coromandel; but in North America, the cause of England wore a better aspect.

Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton in North America, which had been fortified by the French, had, in 1744, been besieged by an English fleet under commodore Warren, in co-operation with forces from New England; and the city, with the isle of Cape Breton, was delivered to his Britannic majesty on the 15th of June.

Encouraged, as it would appear, by this success, the ministry were induced to project the reduction of Quebec. Notice of such intention was sent to the governors of the English colonies, and ten thousand provincial troops were raised to second the English fleet, which was appointed to sail from Portsmouth; but the embarkation was unaccountably delayed, till the lateness of the season compelled the scheme to be abandoned, and a new direction was given to the armament, in order to render it useful. This was a descent to surprise port L'Orient, the depot of stores for the French East India company; but rear-admiral Lestock was not prompt in his proceedings, and this also failed. The cruisers on all sides were active, and the British took some valuable prizes.

In the English parliament, all parties were unanimous in acknowledging the bravery of the victorious duke of Cumberland, for whose services at Culloden the nation made an



addition to his income of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum. Many acts were passed this session for protecting the government of Scotland, and securing its loyalty; and several executions of the rebels took place in different parts of the kingdom. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, who were tried in Westminster-hall. Horace Walpole, in a letter dated 17th of June, says, "All the inns about town are crowded with rebel prisoners, and the people are making parties of pleasure, which you know is the English genius, to hear their trials." Cromartie was spared, at the intercession of his lady; the other two were beheaded on Tower-hill.

Lord Lovat was most determinedly sought, and at length lodged in the Tower, with Murray of Broughton, who had been his secretary, and who was prevailed upon to be evidence for the crown, the better to criminate Lovat, who, with the earl of Traquair, sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron the younger, of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to the earl of Traquair, the earl of Perth and his brother John Drummond, formed the seven associators who had engaged to venture their lives and fortunes in restoring the Stuart family to the throne of England.

Mr. Ratcliff, titular earl of Derwentwater, who had been condemned in the rebellion of 1716, but had escaped from punishment, and entered the French service, being now taken, was executed on the 12th of November; and the proclamations which had been issued by the son, and the grandson of James II., as well as by the generals of the latter, were all burnt at the Royal Exchange in London, by the hands of the common hangman.

The trial of lord Lovat excited extreme interest, on account of his age and infirmities, his eccentricity of character, and the known intention of government to prosecute this nobleman to the very extent of the law, and thus open the whole plan of the rebellion to the public. Such caution had been used by lord Lovat, that government was compelled to give up the mode of indictment acted upon against the other

; and he went through the course of impeachment by peers, who found him guilty, and remanded him to the Tower.

The jocose manner of lord Lovat, during the whole period of confinement, would, in another person, have been called proper levity, but in this nobleman the indulgence of humour was habitual; it was also natural, and entirely free from impiety. He received the intelligence of the warrant for his execution on the 3rd of April, with stoical composure, and, from that time to the hour of his execution,

made no alteration in his usual habits and employments. Recalling to mind his early years, on the evening previous to his execution, he said, "he was bred a Protestant, but after going to Rome he had some doubts, and prayed to God to direct him in the right way. That he studied divinity and controversy three years, and then turned Roman Catholic. *This was my faith,*" said lord L.; "*but I have charity for all men, and I believe every sincere honest man bids fair for heaven, let his persuasion be what it will; for the mercies of God Almighty are great, and his ways past finding out.*" At the place of execution, the behaviour of lord Lovat was cool and composed; he surveyed the multitude with a steady countenance, and taking up the axe to examine it, he exclaimed as he returned it, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori!*" and laying his head on the block, it was severed at one stroke from the body.

The following is a copy of the paper lord Lovat gave into the hands of the Sheriff, a few minutes before he suffered; begging him to do as he pleased with it. "As it may be reasonably expected I should say something of myself in this paper, I declare that I die a true, but unworthy member of the Roman Catholic, Apostolic Church. As to my death, I cannot look upon it as glorious. \* \* \* \*

I sincerely pardon all my enemies, persecutors, and slanderers, from the highest to the lowest, whom God forgive, as I humbly do, and die in perfect charity with all mankind.

*I sincerely repent of all my sins, and firmly hope*



obtain pardon and forgiveness for them, through the merits and passion of my blessed Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, into whose hands I commend my soul. Amen.

“ In the Tower, April 9th, 1747.

“ LOVAT.”

To return to the political state of Europe: France was still arrogant, and the duke of Cumberland led his troops to the continent early in the spring, where he was joined by the Austrians, the Dutch, and the Piedmontese. The French troops had the advantage of position, and their commander, Saxe, commenced the campaign with the invasion of Dutch Brabant; but, finding that the Dutch government favoured the invasion, the friends of the republic became indignant, and chose as stadtholder, William Henry Frizo, son of the prince of Nassau Diets, the person whom William III. of England had named hereditary successor to the house of Orange. On the 2nd of May, he was invested with the dignity of stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral, of the United Provinces. In July, the battle of Val, in which the whole force of the French troops was opposed by the allied army, was bravely contested; the French lost and recovered the village four several times. Had it not been for the cowardice of the Dutch, of whom several squadrons that were posted in the centre gave way, and fled, and thus gave admission to the French cavalry; and the inactivity of the Austrian general, Bithiani, which it was stated arose from private pique to the duke of Cumberland, the victory must have rested with the allied powers. The siege of Berge-op-Zoom, by the French, occupied from the 16th of July to the 15th of September, and presented a continued scene of horror and destruction: the town was burnt, and the surrounding country echoed with the roar of bombs and cannon; still the garrison had suffered little, while heaps of slain were formed of the besiegers. The governor, calculating from these circumstances on the impregnability of the fortress, was lulled into false security, and slept undisturbed, whilst the French troops threw themselves into the fosse,

ed the breaches, forced open a sally port, and enteredarrison; and thus became masters of the navigation of the Scheldt. The conquered and the conquerors then returned to their respective winter-quarters.

naval transactions were favourable beyond expectation. The English fleet was victorious in an engagement with the French, off Cape Finisterre, and took several of their ships with stores and merchandise, for America and the Indies: several more, containing treasure from St. Domingo, were also taken. A quantity of bullion was sent to Spithead, and the money conveyed in waggons to London. The king advanced admiral Anson to the peerage, and gave Mr. Warren the order of the Bath, on their return from the command of that expedition. Admiral Hawke was equally successful in having met with that part of the French fleet that was bound for the West Indies, and taken six of their

The king of France saw with regret the diminution of his power, and beheld with apprehension the departure of Lord Boscawen with troops to recover the possession of the island, and reduce Pondicherry: this consideration, with the diminished source of his treasury, and the present state of the European powers, induced him to make advances towards a peace.

All parties were tired of the war, and a congress was held at Aix-la-Chapelle early in the summer; but it was the month of October before the numerous difficulties advanced by the plenipotentiaries were overcome; and then the terms were settled, though the most reasonable of the English nation thought it was a necessary peace, for that the war had been long conducted, and tended so little to the interest of England, that the longer it was maintained the more injurious it was likely to prove.

Orford died during the rebellion in Scotland: having enjoyed popularity during the latter part of his administration, the nation generally seemed unmoved at the loss; but his friends, of whom none was known to desert him after his resignation of office, cherished his memory with many proofs of esteem. His disposition was always liberal; and

although he had conducted the management of the treasury for very many years, his circumstances, at the period of his death, were far from affluent.

In 1750 died mareschal Saxe, in the palace of Chantilly near Blois. In conquest he was ever generous and brave; yet these qualities of a great hero were totally tarnished by excessive indulgence of licentious passions, which was the degradation of soliciting the influence of power to press a *lettre de cachet* by which to immure mademoiselle de Chantilly, or force her to become the partner of his bed.

The agents of the Pretender, prince Charles, had presented a protest in the prince's name to the negotiators of Am-  
 pelle, which they treated with contempt, and after the conclusion of the treaty he was required to quit France. He received the intimation with feelings of resentment, and the duke de Gesvers, that it was contrary to the First treaty engagement to expel him from France. Louis the great wrote a soothing letter to the prince, in which he requested him to draw, and pointing out to him the canton of Friburg as a place of retirement, promised him a pension from France. Finding that the prince disregarded this letter, and continued to appear in public places with an air of triumph, Louis applied to his father, who wrote and advised his son to submit on the occasion; but Charles continued as before, the mass of the people favoured him, and the government grew fearful of an insurrection on his account. Louis then had recourse to violent measures: when the prince was stepping from his coach into the Opera House, a body of guards, under the command of the king, made him prisoner; they bound his body with a cord, and made him a common felon, and conveyed him first to Vincennes, and then to the frontiers of the kingdom.

This act was considered as a sacrifice to the glory of England. At the same time the author of the French Revolution was sent to the Bastille for mentioning the Pretender in a manner that might be offensive to England. For this complaint the government intended to repay itself by the expulsion of the English from America; an intention that soon manifested, and which the English ministry took much

The treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle has ever been considered disgraceful and injurious to England, more especially that clause requiring hostages to be sent to France until she had made during the war. Another source of was the silence observed by the negotiators respecting the right of search by the Spaniards in the American seas; the limits of their respective possessions in America the basis of the war with Spain, and which were pass unnoticed by the agents of the treaty.

The king returned from his Hanoverian visit, he informed parliament that the definitive treaty of peace had been signed by all the parties concerned in the war, and spoke in a satisfactory manner of the measures he had taken to secure the rights and interests of all his subjects.

The subsequent result of disbanding the army was, that a great number of unemployed persons were scattered over the kingdom, and many depredations committed on the property of the poor. To remedy this, the earl of Halifax, who was first lord of the trade and plantations, suggested a plan to establish a colony in Nova Scotia, by a grant of land to such persons as were disposed to undertake the voyage at the public expense. A body of adventurers were accordingly conveyed to the settlement. Colonel Cornwallis went as governor of the colony.

Halifax, in compliment to the first promoter of the colony. The policy of the minister in sending these persons to Nova Scotia, whose rebellious spirits might have proved dangerous at home if suffered to remain in idleness, was dignified by the name of benevolence. It was soon proved that the colony of Nova Scotia was incapable of repaying the labourer for his toil, and many who had been transported there obtained leave to go to the more southern climates. They who remained excited the jealousy of the native Indians, who still dwelt on the borders of this barren spot; and the French, who were the first European settlers there, encouraged this jealousy. Commissioners were appointed to meet at Paris for the purpose of inquiring into and adjusting their grievances.

ances, but they, not understanding the local circumstances, effected no good. Meantime the animosity grew stronger between the English and the French. That the English claimed the whole territory between the Mississippi and Mexico on the east, and to the Apalachian mountains on the west. From an assertion, that they were the first to settle at the mouth of that river, they took from the English, who were settled beyond those mountains, their possessions, and built forts to protect all the adjacent country.

The dastardly conduct of the Dutch in the late war created a general feeling of disgust throughout the East, and led to the passing a bill for forming a society, under the name of 'The Free British Fishery,' in which the prince of Wales was made governor. A bounty was given on the customs to new vessels which were built in Great Britain, and every other encouragement was given to those entering into the concern.

The king had returned from a visit to Hanover, and met his parliament, when the kingdom was afflicted by the unexpected death of Frederick, prince of Wales, who expired at Leicester House the 10th of the forty-fifth year of his age. Some months previous to the event the prince received a blow on his side from a ball, when playing at the game on the lawn of St. James's in Buckinghamshire, to which seat he frequently retired. An abscess formed, which became very painful to him, and his illness, so that he was often obliged for ease to go to Desnoyers, a celebrated dancing-master, was playing on the violin to divert the prince, when the matter, which had accumulated from the abscess, suddenly burst, and the discharge in his throat caused instant suffocation. Desnoyers, who had been called to support the prince, but all efforts were ineffectual, he instantly expired. The king was at the countess of York's, where he usually passed his evenings, when a letter was delivered to his majesty announcing the death of Frederick, which he read without any perceptible emotion: he then crossed the room to speak to the countess, who was sitting at another table, and in a low voice said, in German,

de," Freddy is dead. He then left the room, and was  
ved by the countess . . . The prince left, besides his  
t son George, Edward duke of York, William duke of  
cester, Henry duke of Cumberland, and Frederick, who  
in his sixteenth year. His daughters were, Augusta,  
wards duchess of Brunswick; Elizabeth and Louisa, who  
unmarried; and a posthumous child, Caroline Matilda,  
became the unfortunate queen of Denmark, and died  
all. The prince was buried with very little of the funeral  
usual on such occasions. The attendance on the royal  
e was performed in the most negligent manner, and the  
e of the preparations were conducted with parsimonious

ntemporaries of that period accounted the prince humane,  
e, benevolent, and possessing a munificent spirit. He  
resented as having been busily engaged at Carlton House  
= 12th of November, 1749, in making the financial dis-  
ons to be adopted on the demise of his father\*. His  
ant opposition to ministerial measures may be greatly  
ated to the peculiar circumstance of his being estranged  
his father's councils, and even from his society, which  
im open to the machinations of those who were dis-  
ed towards the government, and to others, who were  
by party interest. That the prince had penetrated the  
worn by some of his adherents, may be concluded from  
ervation he made to his son when embracing him only  
days prior to his then unexpected dissolution. "Come,  
e, let us be good friends while we are suffered to

or the prince's death the king declared the princess of  
regent of the realm, with the assistance of a council, in  
ent of his majesty dying during the minority of her son.  
= 13th of July, the princess of Wales was delivered of  
ughter Caroline Matilda.

session was distinguished by a change in the calendar,  
now agreed with the calculation of time as it had been  
on the continent by pope Gregory XIII. In the month

\* Dodington's Diary.

of April, prince George was invested with the title of prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was chosen, in the will of his deceased father, governor of the Free British Fishery. The prince of Orange died the latter end of this year.

At this period, the French were practising a system of unparalleled deception. Whilst they treated the English ambassador at Paris with peculiar marks of outward friendship, the king, by a contribution on his clergy, was making very active preparations to possess himself of the share of English had in North America.

A bill was now passed for the better preventing thefts and robberies, for the regulation of places of amusement, and for punishing the keepers of disorderly houses; the necessity of this arose from the spirit of extravagance which reigned throughout the kingdom, as dissipation and amusement occupied every class of society. On the 12th of March, lord Bolingbroke paid the debt of nature; he was one of the greatest men of his time, whether considered as an orator, or the polished courtier. He has left so many relics of his literary talents, among which his speeches are the most esteemed.

A bill to prevent clandestine marriages was introduced, fairly contested, between the ministerial and the opposition parties; but most of its clauses having been altered in its progress through the house, it was not an occasion to hold up the bill, as Antony had done at the murdered body of Cæsar, making, at the same time, an excellent parody of Shakspeare's speech, applicable to the subject of the bill. Some regulations relating to Scotland were formed; by one of which, the estates forfeited in the rebellion of 1715 were annexed unalienably to the crown.

Some riots, in consequence of the exportation of corn, and the collection of tolls, called for the interference of the military, but were soon suppressed, though with the loss of several lives. The kingdom was in a state of tranquillity when the seventh year of the parliament closed; but previous to a new election, the death of Mr. Pelham caused several changes in the government offices. He was succeeded in the treasury by



1758.]

GEORGE II.

31

his brother, the duke of Newcastle. The elections went every where in favour of the ministry, as the former spirit which had caused such commotions had now subsided, and unanimity prevailed in the cabinet\*. The new parliament was opened on the 10th of May, by commission; the business of the house was to take into consideration the state of Ireland, which, in proportion as it advanced in civilisation, shewed a disposition to shake off its dependence on

France, in reply to the questions put by the English government, regarding their conduct in America, gave answers, whilst hostilities were daily proceeding between the native Indians and the French settlers in the colonies; and the account of a fight between colonel Washington and the French on the banks of the Ohio, caused the two nations to declare war. Spain was amicably disposed towards us, but in its endeavours to extend its commerce, it threatened the trade of England. Few matters in the house required the attention of the house. Mr. Pitt, then general of the forces, obtained a bill, which gave the pensioners of Chelsea Hospital one-half-year's pension; and so prevented the necessity of the parliament applying to usurers, which had proved the ruin of many, made the original regulation only allowed the first payment to be made at the expiration of one year after the enrolment.

In the spring of 1755, the general attention of Europe was turned on the event of affairs in America; as squadrons had been sent out by England and France, and the most active preparations were going forward in both kingdoms. A preparation of the seamen in England and Ireland evinced the earnestness of the ministers; great premiums were offered for volunteers, and the war commenced by an attack on the French by admiral Boscawen, and by captain Howe, afterwards Howe, who behaved with great valour in taking the

The museum of the physician and naturalist, sir Hans Sloane, was purchased by the king for twenty thousand pounds, ten thousand more was given for the library of the Bodleian of Oxford, and those, added to the Cottonian and royal libraries, were added into the Museum, under the direction of trustees and governors.



French ships, the *Alcide*, and the *Lys*. Colonel Monck reduced the French forts in Nova Scotia, and major-general Braddock commanded an expedition towards the Ohio; as Hyde Park had been the only theatre of his exploits, his inexperience in military tactics, and his ignorance of the country, added to his natural pride and obstinacy, prevented his asking advice, all combined and led to a catastrophe—the exposure of his army to an ambush of French and Indians, who were artfully placed in the rear, and by a concealed fire, poured their shot upon the English with a success that the greatest bravery could not withstand. Braddock had five horses shot under him, and was carried off the field mortally wounded. Upwards of seven hundred men, with several officers, were slain; the artillery, stores, and provisions for that division became the property of the victors, as well as the general's cabinet, containing his private instructions, and many papers, which the Indians did not scruple to make useful to themselves. This battle occurred within ten miles of Fort du Quesne. Two other expeditions, destined for the attack of Crown Point and Magara, also failed; but the reprisals at sea more than compensated those misfortunes, as three hundred trading vessels and eight thousand seamen, were captured that year by English cruisers.

While the flame of war was exercising its vengeance separately on the subjects of France and England, the southern part of Europe was visited by a more imperious and violent earthquake, which began on the first of November and continued one whole fortnight, shook the countries of Spain and Portugal, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. Ten thousand inhabitants were swallowed up during the convulsion, and the terrified survivors, who escaped with their lives to the fields, were relieved by the benevolence of the English nation, which, though pressed with the demands of an expensive war, sent several ships laden with clothing and provisions for the destitute sufferers.

The ministry had felt alarm for the safety of the king from the French, in his return from Hanover, which

d contrary to the advice of his council, and they were to see his majesty return safely, at an earlier period was expected; but the engagements he had entered for the security of his German possessions excited dissatisfaction in his English subjects, particularly the to be paid as annual subsidies to the empress of Russia, to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. With respect to ver, a favourable turn took place in the junction of ia with his Britannic majesty, to prevent the entrance of foreign troops into Germany.

May, war was formally proclaimed against France, was followed by threats of invasion upon England, the French ministry hoped much from the once more disstate of the English cabinet. The people murmured at introduction of a body of Hessians and Hanoverians to the interior of the kingdom; as many thought the strength of England was all-sufficient to secure it from on. But whilst the government wholly employed itself in maintaining its internal policy, the enemy was preparing an attack on the island of Minorca, the fortifications of which had been hitherto considered impregnable. The governor, General Blakeney, made a long and able defence, but he was supported by admiral Byng, who was sent to relieve the, and who seems to have been destitute of any decisive for want of which he remained nearly inactive. The capture of Minorca was an unexpected blow; Byng was under arrest, brought to England, tried, and condemned, recommended to mercy: he was, however, executed. The nation was much divided respecting the justice of his execution; admiral Forbes, one of the court-martial, refused to sign the warrant from conscientious motives. The French, elated with their acquisition in the Mediterranean, resolved on making an attack upon Hanover, as the means of bringing the ministry to their own terms. The state of affairs on the continent caused Austria to form an alliance with France; to effect which, the queen of Hungary ceded her barrier in the Netherlands to Louis, by which circumstance the aspect of Europe became changed. King

their sovereignty, and the British were  
to prevent the progress of the French  
with little interruption. A few months  
Prussia at war with all the neighbours  
England, who, for her own interest, re-  
but his situation became so desperate  
ministry deliberated on the propriety of  
In this state of affairs the Prussian  
pity, more than interest, induced Eng-  
friendship to Prussia, and success  
valiant exertions of her king.

The war in the Eastern provinces  
after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle  
tuating, now began to operate in favour  
the exertions of Mr. Clive, who had  
service in a civil capacity; but finding  
bias for a military life, he gave up his  
in a troop of volunteers, where his con-  
raised him to a high post. His first  
clearing the province of Arcot. Some

• On the 5th of January, 1757, an unfortunate day

greatest Eastern princes laid siege to Calcutta, the principal British port, and having taken it, placed the prisoners, who amounted to one hundred and forty-six, in prison of Calcutta, called the Black-hole; a space of seven feet square, which admitted light through two small gratings. Here the want of air soon reduced them to the most dreadful state imaginable; those nearest the door daily endeavoured to break it open; a thing impossible, they opened inwards; they then tried to excite the pity of the guards. Mr. Holwell, one of the survivors of this dreadful prison, offered one of them a thousand rupees in the morning, if he would convey part of them to a different prison; the man consented to try to procure this indulgence for the sufferers, and returned, and said: "*Unhappy men! submit to your fate. The subah is asleep! and what slave dares disturb his repose?*" Of the number that entered this wretched place, only twenty-three were living, when, the following morning, a doctor came for their release; and of those, several were already with putrid fevers, of which they afterwards died. The

arrival of Mr. Clive, seconded by an English fleet under Admiral Watson, were successful in destroying the granaries of the viceroy of Bengal, and in reducing his principal commercial city; a complete victory was, in the end, obtained over the Indian army; and colonel Clive was proclaimed the conqueror of Bengal. The English then attacked Chanamassy, a French settlement, which they also conquered; and thus became, in one campaign, possessed of a territory which in its wealth and extent, exceeded any part of Europe. A victory followed victory in the Eastern world, a change of ministry in England led to greater successes in the

It was at this period that the celebrated William Pitt was brought into office with Mr. Legge; but both of them were opposed to the expensive support of continental connexions, and would have been dismissed by their sovereign, but for the popularity their principles had acquired, which alone sustained them in office. Three separate commanders were sent to conduct the operations in America, generals Mifflin, Abercrombie, and brigadier-general Forbes. They

succeeded in regaining possession of Cape Breton, which had been returned to the French, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; and also in the conquest of Fort du Quebec. The following year preparations were made to attack America in three different parts at the same time. General Amherst, who acted as commander in chief, went to the point; general Wolfe intended to besiege Quebec. General deaux, with sir William Johnson, were to attempt the fort near Niagara. In the difficult, and at length successful siege of Quebec, Wolfe, who at the age of thirty gained his elevation by merit, was slain. To great admiration, this hero added liberality of sentiment, mildness, and a considerable share of prudence; he was also generous, and humane. Having gained the battle of Abraham, which had been supposed inaccessible, an engagement followed between the English and the French armies. Wolfe was in a conspicuous situation, and, during the battle, received a ball in his wrist; he wrapped his handkerchief round the wound, and continued to issue his orders without any apparent alteration of manner. He had stood at the head of the grenadiers, when a second and fatal wound pierced his breast, and he leaned on the shoulder of one of his men. Soon he heard, while suffering painfully, the words, "They run;" and being told the French ran, he pressed his hand on the soldier's breast, and said, as he expired, "I am happy." The surrender of Quebec, which was soon followed by the cession of Canada, caused the French to capitulate, and the whole province was reduced to active measures pursued by general Amherst.

In Europe, the English had taken a very active part in the continental war, which had raged for the last four years, without gaining any other advantage than the gratification of sending the possessions of their sovereign in Germany. After the battle of Minden, victory fluctuated so to either side that the English began to reflect that they were exhausting their finances for conquests which would never produce them any solid benefits. She was now in a state of unparalleled

At sea, the conduct of her admirals had destroyed the  
f the French, and obtained from them an acknowledg-  
f her superiority on that element. Admiral Hawke  
t gained a glorious victory in Quiberon bay, when the  
f the king cast a temporary gloom throughout the

His majesty had for a long time been troubled with  
ions about the heart, which obliged him to lie down  
inner. Mr. Pitt transacted business with the king  
hour, kneeling on a cushion by the side of the bed;  
attitude greatly pleased the king. His majesty died  
y on the 25th of October, by the rupture of some of  
mbranes about the heart. He was in his seventy-  
year, and seemed in good general health, not having  
rmity, except that his sight had greatly failed him for  
ne. His sons were Frederic, prince of Wales, whom  
ved, and William, duke of Cumberland. His daughters  
anne, who became princess of Orange; Amelia, who  
an advanced age, unmarried; Elizabeth, who died  
er father; Mary, who married the landgrave of Hesse  
and Louisa, afterwards queen of Denmark.

rson George II. was below the common standard, but  
re was well proportioned; he had a pleasing counte-  
and his whole exterior expressed dignity. He had one  
lvantage over his father in the eyes of his subjects,—  
acquainted with the language and constitution of the  
; but his early habits had rendered him reserved, and  
iously fond of his own opinion, to a degree bordering  
willed obstinacy. His talents were moderate; but he  
able of great application, and was well versed in foreign

His temper was hasty, and frequently violent, but  
indictive; and habits of wary caution rendered him  
In consequence of finding among the papers of  
er, certain letters from the earl of Sunderland, con-  
secrets which it was not proper should be divulged,

II. never departed from a rule he then prescribed  
self—always to return such papers to the minister, as  
nt to him of a political nature. He was, probably from  
e cause, methodical in his actions; punctual, and

Gay, who wrote his fables for the duke, refused the office of gentleman usher to the king (which would have given him a salary of £100 per annum,) from a notion that Mrs. Howard would be greater with the king than that of Swift formed very high expectations from the duke. Howard, and when his hopes were disappointed, was severe in his epithets against her, and accused her of insincerity. Lord Chesterfield, too, felt much of the same long visits to that lady should not have met with a reward. These characteristics certainly led to a worthy precaution; and to sum up his character in a few words, it may be said, that he exhibited no great virtue; he did not practise any great virtue; he was not great in the arts, for he had no natural genius for them; and his German possessions too highly.

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## CHAPTER XXVI.

Disposition he was free from every bad propensity; his character was good, and his desires moderate; but from the peculiar situation of his father at the court, his majesty had been little in public, and in the retirement in which he had been educated, had imbibed his notions of governing under the direction of his preceptor lord Bute, who was sworn a member of the privy council immediately on his accession; his act, with some other marks of the royal favour, rendered that nobleman an object of jealousy to the court several years\*. The new king met his council at Carlton House, where he informed them of his intention to follow the plans laid down by his grandfather in prosecuting the present war. He issued a proclamation for the encouragement of industry and virtue; and another to require all persons holding office to proceed in the execution of their respective duties. Addresses, containing professions of the most loyal attachment, poured in from all parts of the kingdom. This was an auspicious moment, when England, by crushing the domination of France, had opened new channels for commerce, and every thing portended a glorious and prosperous reign.

On the 10th of November, the royal corpse of George II. was brought from Kensington, and lay in state in the prince's chamber, near the House of Lords, that night, and was buried the next day in Henry the Seventh's chapel, Westminster: the Duke of Cumberland attended as chief mourner. Within a few days after that event, the king met his parliament, and opened his speech in the following words: "*Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton;*" a commencement which did not fail to fill the people with the most enthusiastic joy; and, for the moment, obscured their remembrance of the new tax imposed on beer and ale; which was intended to aid the necessary supplies required for the current year; and which, when put in execution, caused great murmur throughout the kingdom, and riots in the metropolis.

The ranger-ship of Richmond Park, hitherto held by the princess Amelia, was given to lord Bute; in compensation for which, a pension of twelve hundred pounds was granted to her royal highness from the Irish establishment. The arrangements being made for the princess; she retired from court, and at her death, divided her property among her foreign relatives.



Mr. Pitt. The accession was distinguished by the presence of peers, and an addition of twelve surgeons.

In July, the king informed his council  
marry, and acquainted them that he had  
sort, princess Charlotte, daughter of the  
berg-Strelitz. The information was pl  
Harcourt went immediately to the coun  
and the alliance being agreed upon, the  
prepared, and lord Anson proceeded with  
Auncaster and Hamilton, and the countess  
accompany the princess in her passage  
arrived in London on the 8th of Sep  
mony of the nuptials took place that ev  
chapel, and on the 22nd, the king, with  
were crowned in Westminster Abbey. Th  
ings did not close till after the election of  
the city; when their majesties, accompanied  
the nobility, honoured the banquet in Guild  
the ancient custom of the monarchs of Eng  
the magistrate elected in the year of their  
After the taking of Belleisle from the

negotiation respecting America was carried on during the summer, as each power was unwilling to make any concession. Mr. Pitt, who was quick in penetrating the designs of his enemies, had ascertained the insincerity of Spain; which induced him to deliver his sentiments in the council in favour of declaring a war against that country: but neither the king nor his ministers saw the propriety of this step, with the exception of lord Temple, the brother-in-law of Mr. Pitt, and who also resigned with the secretary. On that occasion the king, in return for the great services Mr. Pitt had rendered to England, settled upon him an annual pension of three thousand pounds, to be continued for his own, and during the lives of his wife and son; and he conferred on the wife of Mr. Pitt, the title of baroness of Chatham, and that of baron to her heirs male. Little business was brought before the house this session. A provision was settled upon the queen in case of the king's death: it amounted to a yearly pension of one hundred thousand pounds, together with Somerset House, and the lodge in Richmond park.

Very soon after Pitt's resignation, his successor, lord Egremont, learnt that the king of Spain had formed a separate treaty, to which he gave the name of *family compact*, with the king of France. On the 4th of January following, war was declared between England and Spain. Whilst Mr. Pitt was in office, a considerable military force had been sent against the French colonies in the West Indies, under general Monckton, who reduced Fort Royal; and having possession of the islands of St. Lucie, Tobago, and Vincent, it was resolved to send an additional fleet and troops under sir George Pocock and the earl of Albemarle, to attack the Spanish islands in that quarter. With the assistance of a chart drawn by lord Anson, of those seas, the fleet cleared their way, and arrived in sight of St. Jago; but the main object was to proceed to Havannah, as the principal place of commerce where the vessels laden with the produce of Mexico and Peru rendezvoused. The difficulty of entering the harbour seemed at first insurmountable, but was at length overcome by the powerful efforts of courage and

de Velasco, the commander in chief, he fell gloriously while animating his garrison surrender until reduced to a hundred men. The English lost more occasion, than by the sword. They were equally successful in the conquest of 11 of the Spanish islands in the East Indies prizes taken at sea. In May, two frigates were cruising off Cape St. Vincent, captured and took her into Gibraltar. Her cargo valued at one million sterling, was proceeding from the streets of London to the Bank, at the 12th of August, that the birth of George the fourth, our present beloved monarch, was announced.

The marquis of Granby signalized his services to the allied army in Germany; and, in the year 1762, he was made duke of the Palatinate. Prussia, would in all probability have been victorious over the French troops, had not a general peace been made to end to the contest. The death of the emperor Joseph II. had given the empire of Russia to her present monarch, who from motives of jealousy had been excluded from the court. His stable character

adopted. The duke of Newcastle was informed that he was expected to resign his office at the head of the treasury, and that the king meant to reward his past services with a pension. He refused the latter, saying, "If he could no longer be thought worthy to serve his country, he would not submit to be a burden to it." His dismissal gave great offence to the Whigs; some of his colleagues resigned, and others entered the opposition list. In opposing the tax on cider, which occasioned a great clamour among the people, Mr. Pitt spoke in strong terms of its severity, upon which Mr. Grenville, in his place of secretary, with earnestness said to Mr. Pitt: "*Tell me where, where can you lay another tax?*" to which Pitt replied in the musical tone of a favourite song, "*Gentle shepherd, tell me where?*" Mr. Grenville ever after was called "*The gentle shepherd.*" The tax passed into a law, and was followed by the resignation of lord Bute, who found himself obliged to this step from want of support in his station of first minister: he was succeeded by Mr. Grenville.

Peace between England, France, and Spain, was proclaimed on the 22d of March, but the grounds of the treaties became matters of censure and reproach. Many thought that our victories by land and water, which had extended from the Philippines to Cuba, and from Cape Breton to Senegal, were all sacrificed by the terms of this degrading peace: by which was restored what ought to have been preserved, the Havannah, Martinique, Guadaloupe, &c.; and Canada and Florida, which it might have been policy to have ceded to France and Spain, were reserved for England.

This year the public attention was wholly bent on the result of the trial of John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, a man of good talents and classical taste, but who bore a very profligate character. Disappointed in his expectations from the ministry, he assumed the part of a violent patriot, and inveighed vehemently against the measures pursued by government. The press teemed with political pamphlets, to which the ministerial party seemed indifferent, until the appearance of the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*, in which very strong and scurri-

lous abuse was published against the king's speech delivered at the close of parliament. Immediately, a warrant, given below\*, was issued from the secretary of state's office, and Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower, but was afterwards discharged on the opinion of the lord chief justice Pratt, that the proceedings against him were illegal. "If this be good," said Pratt, "a secretary of state can delegate and deputize his messengers, or any even from the lowest of the people, to take examinations, to commit or release, and, in fact, to do every act which the highest judicial officers the law knows can do, or order." But Mr. Wilkes having, after his release, republished the *North Briton*, with all the papers relating to the affair, at a press erected in his own house in Great George Street, Westminster, an information was filed against him for his majesty's suit for a gross libel, which, having been examined and proved, the *North Briton* was burned by the hands of the common hangman; nor did the matter end here. The commons expelled him from their house, and the subject continued to occupy the public for several months.

The king, aware of the great loss sustained in the cabinet by the absence of so able a manager as Mr. Pitt, appointed him an interview on the 27th of August; but his majesty did not agree in opinion with him, as he adhered to his first plan of a mixed cabinet, and their conference ended without any further change, than the admission of the duke of Bedford as president of the council, which brought an accession of strength to the Grenvilles. Mr. Grenville had set out with the notion that the resources of the country were greatly exhausted, and that it was the chief business of a prime minister to improve the revenue, without impoverishing the people. His first step was a bill to prevent smuggling; his next was to oblige the

\* These are, in his majesty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your custody the body of John Wilkes, esq., herewith sent you for being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, entitled the *North Briton*, number 45, tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against the government, and to keep him safe and close until he shall be delivered by due course of law; and in so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the thirtieth of April, 1763, in the third year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed)

KECKWORTH, L. S.

DUKE, HALIFAX, L. S.

inhabitants of the British colonies in America to pay taxes to the English government: a plan the result of which was the most injurious to trade that could have been conceived. The duty of the colonies already paid a duty previous to being exported for any other station than to England: but the measure now proposed including the colonists in a stamp act, a bill for this purpose was brought into the house. A very important discussion took place, which ended in its being carried into a law; but when the colonists received the intelligence, and with it an account of the arguments opposed to it, they imbibed a notion that England was about to treat them unjustly, and they resolved on making resistance. At their meeting in Virginia, they refused to acknowledge the authority of the British parliament to legislate for their colony. Other colonies followed their example; they met in a congress at New York in October, and were unanimous in opposition. Meanwhile the sovereignty of the Isle of Man which had passed by marriage from the house of Derby to that of Athol, was annexed by a bill to the crown, on account of its insulated situation, which rendered it favourable to smuggling. The duke received seventy thousand pounds, and his estates in the island, and a moderate pension was granted on himself and his duchess. The conclusion of this was unfavourable to the Grenville administration; provisions were scarce, the manufacturing classes were dissatisfied, and riots ensued, which required the aid of military force to subdue.

The king had again recourse to Mr. Pitt, but that statesman seemed to have increased the value of his talents, for he did not now allow to the court its appointment of the subordinate offices of the government. As the king thought his demand unreasonable, he desired his uncle, the duke of Cumberland, (whom the jealousy of Lord Bute had hitherto prevented from having any share in the government) to form the administration. By this measure the marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; but its chief support, the duke of Cumberland, died of apoplexy on the 31st of October. The royal highness had just returned from taking tea with the

their places, so that the act remained in force. The assembly met at New York, which drew up a declaration of rights and grievances. This they did in respect to the trade ; but they prohibited the importation of foreign manufactures until the act should be repealed. In 1764 a man of eminent talents, was examined in the House of Commons. His evidence, which showed the evils that would result of pursuing the plan of taxation, was adopted by Mr. Pitt, produced a majority for its rejection.

The Rockingham ministry passed many measures to the people, all tending to procure them relief. Nothing less than Mr. Pitt and his administration could satisfy the nation. The king now gave up the ministry and he selected such men from all parties as he thought would best serve the country and support his policy. In the period James, the son of James II., who was expelled from the throne of France, was called the " Chevalier de St. George," and was known in England as the " Pretender," and left two sons, Charles Edward, known as the " Young Pretender," and Henry, cardinal York.

The year 1766 opened with the duke of Grafton as secretary of the treasury, in place of the marquis of Rockingham.

\* In reference to the character of the royal duke, the reader will find in the next chapter a full and complete account.



with Mr. Pitt, who had been called to the upper house by the title of earl of Chatham, as lord privy seal. His promotion to the peerage did not increase his popularity ; but the discontent now generally felt from the immoderate price of provisions, in no way conduced to render a minister popular. The affairs of the East India Company claimed the attention of the house. Mr. Vansittart had acted as governor-general from the time of colonel Clive's return to England in 1760. But the viceroy of Bengal had opposed the company, and a war ensued which ended by the English making an entire conquest of the kingdom of Bengal. The preceding year the company had sent lord Clive, who found that their agents had acquired a custom of exacting large sums as presents from the native princes : by which means they had accumulated great riches, and the name of an Englishman had become odious. Lord Clive resolved to restrain the rapacity of these persons, he concluded a treaty for the company, by which they enjoyed a yearly revenue of one million seven hundred pounds. It is true that lord Clive himself made the fortune that any individual was known to realize there, and we are told, he performed most important services in the country. The wealth of the company rendered it valuable to government, and a question arose whether the East India Company had any right to territorial jurisdiction. Examining into their charter, it was proved that they were prohibited from making conquests ; and it being also proved they had subdued some of the native princes, and annexed their dominions to their own settlements, it was agreed that they should pay a stated sum to government during the two following years.

On the 1st of October the king's youngest sister, the princess Caroline Matilda, was married to the king of Denmark, with a marriage portion of one hundred thousand pounds. The duke of York, brother to the king, stood proxy for the Danish monarch.

The natural period of the parliament closed by proclamation on the 12th of April, and the high price of corn still



operating on the lower classes of the people, frequent riots took place : the general tumult was much increased by the return of Mr. Wilkes, who, having gone to France, avoided appearing to the indictments which had been issued against him, and had therefore been declared an outlaw. He had now returned, and having offered himself a candidate for the ensuing election, was chosen member for Middlesex. Mr. Wilkes, having surrendered and undergone his trial in the court of King's Bench, was fined a considerable sum, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On the 10th of May, the day of the new parliament being opened, a most serious disturbance took place in consequence of the rash violence exercised against the people, who had assembled about the prison in expectation that Mr. Wilkes would have his liberty, and to conduct him to the parliament-house. The riot act was read, several persons were killed by the firing of the military, and many more were wounded : little public business was done, and the session terminated very shortly.

In August, Christian VII., king of Denmark, paid a visit to the English court. He had treated his young queen, Matilda, with neglect from her first arrival in Denmark. His habits of dissipation did not allow him the power of enjoying connubial happiness ; and under the pretext of improving himself in the art of governing, he made a tour through the principal states of Europe under the name of prince Travendahl. His brother-in-law, George III., sent his carriages to Dover to convey the king and his suite ; but Christian considered pomp an enemy to pleasure, and preferred coming to London in a post-chaise. He was lodged in those apartments in the Stable-yard which are now occupied by the duke of Clarence. The whole period of the king's visit was spent in balls, masquerades, concerts, military and nautical fêtes, and in tours by land and excursions by water. Besides all these public festivities, Christian found time also to accompany his favourite companion, count Holcke, in several rambles ; sometimes as Mr. Frederickson, a private gentleman, and sometimes disguised as sailors, they perambulated the lanes in Wapping

visited the cellars of St. Giles's. Everywhere the thought-monarch scattered money with profusion, and laughed at his brother-in-law, whom he called a domestic quiz. The next meeting of parliament was greatly disturbed by the conduct of Mr. Wilkes, who, having been expelled in attempting to take his seat in the house of commons, again offered himself and was again elected for Middlesex: he was even a fourth time elected, and as often refused his seat, which was given to Lutterel. Wilkes was chosen alderman of the city, where he became very popular. It seemed as though an entire mutation of interests had occurred between the corporation of London and the ministers. The two houses of parliament were divided in opinion respecting the proceedings of the committee appointed to settle a dispute which had arisen between Britain and Spain respecting the possession of the Sandwich Islands. The new session opened with lord North's administration, and a speech from lord Chatham, signifying his intention to resign, from a belief that the system adopted by his colleagues was unconstitutional, and likely to prove disastrous to the country: he even joined in opinion with the citizens of London, who petitioned the king on the grounds that the misdeeds of his majesty's ministers were subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of the realm, (they alluded to the Westminster election,) and they joined in a remonstrance, in which they asked the removal of such evil ministers from councils for ever. The king's reply was manly and firm, such as it expressed his sense of the insult they had offered, declared his own determination to make the law of the land the rule of his conduct, and while it reproved their intemperance, it shewed that he required their submission. However, he repeated the insult; and Mr. Beckford, the mayor, encouraged by the king's forbearance, asked permission to reply to the answer which had been given by his majesty, which unusual proceeding being granted, he, with great boldness, expostulated on the conduct of those who had seduced the king's affection from his subjects, and pronounced his opinion of such a man in the following words: *He is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a vio-*

*lator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution."* This conduct in Beckford is attributed by the historian of George III. to the pride of riches\*: which is a reasonable conclusion, as, by his immense wealth, Beckford had attained the zenith of popularity, and fancied that the opinion of the city council, communicated through him, could not fail to carry conviction.

In the succeeding session, lord Mansfield's doctrine respecting libels, that, *the truth of the allegation cannot be pleaded in abatement of guilt*, was discussed in both houses. About this time, a law was passed to regulate contested elections, since known as the Grenville act. Lord North, who, like the marquis of Rockingham, was desirous to please all parties, proposed repealing the duties in America; retaining only a tax of three pence on the pound of tea, which he did to secure to England the right to tax the colonists, but it was the right which they disputed; and, therefore, they continued to prohibit tea.

In France, one half of the nation was occupied in civil dissension; the other part amused themselves with the pageants attending on the marriage of the dauphin, grandson to Louis XV., with the princess Maria Antoinette, daughter of the empress Maria Theresa. They looked with secret satisfaction at the confused state of the British colonies; their first minister, the duke de Choiseul, anxious to draw England into a war, had recourse to the descendant of James II. Under the old pretext of restoring the house of Stuart, Choiseul sent a messenger privately to Rome, to ask an interview of the Pretender, Charles Edward, who came to Paris with great secrecy: twelve at night after his arrival was appointed for his meeting the minister and marshal Broglio, at the hotel de Choiseul. After waiting till one, (having with them the plan for the invasion of England,) the Pretender came, but in such a state of intoxication, as to be incapable of doing any business whatever. The party separated; and the following morning, Choiseul sent the

\* Bisset's Reign of George III., vol. ii., page 20.

a peremptory order to quit the French dominions. He set on his return to Rome, in the streets of Genoa, by Duke of Gloucester and an English nobleman.

At home, the year passed in greater tranquillity; though the City of London still persisted in sending addresses to the King, who continued to receive them with the same forbearance, and the same perseverance in his own firm principles. With regard to America, the colonists experienced temporary satisfaction on receiving the act of repeal. But New England, particularly at Massachusetts Bay, the inhabitants shewed a disposition to disavow the supremacy of Great Britain. Unfortunately this intimation was disregarded by the British cabinet, owing to the peculiar tendency of Lord North's administration, to attend only to the removal of present grievances, without carrying the view to remote, though important consequences. The succeeding year was eventful in British politics.

The empress Catherine, in her late successful war, had acquired possession of the Turkish dominions, from Poland to the Black Sea southward; and from Hungary to the Euxine eastward.

Austria was alarmed at the extent of her conquests, and Frederick the Great, joined Russia in a treaty; by which they agreed to divide Poland between them, and indeed the then possessor of that kingdom of their intention, by a manifesto; intimating the vast pains they had taken to restore peace to Poland: but their efforts being of no avail, they were compelled to place the ancient constitution, and the liberties of the people, on a solid foundation. It was in vain that justice brought her arguments against ambition; Poland was dismembered. The same Gustavus of Sweden, who, on his accession to the throne twelve months before, had publicly prayed that the state might never be disturbed by ambition, entirely overturned the constitution, and made Sweden an absolute monarchy. The commercial credit of England was at this time affected by the failure of Fordyce, a native of Scotland, who possessed an enterprising spirit, which he exercised on various adventures, his unparalleled dealing in the stocks caused a bankruptcy of a million; and part of his capital being employed in

the banking business, drew his partners, with many more into utter ruin. From this period may be dated a fatal change in the character of the British merchant; and which was mostly caused by the immense fortunes latterly gained by persons who went for a few years to India, and returned to this country with such an accumulation of wealth, as could not be acquired in trade without many years' attendance in business, and the progressive effects of a long course of industry and economy. These dazzling fortunes led many to engage in hazardous schemes, who had not actual property; some few of them acquired fortunes, and many more lost themselves afloat by fictitious credit, and then arrived wealthy men in their ruin.

Parliament this session was principally employed in considering the affairs of the East India Company, whose servants had assumed the power of forming a commercial course with each other; by which they exclusively monopolized the right of traffic in inland produce. They bought goods at their own prices, and exercised such arbitrary measures as impoverished the natives, and exhausted their resources until they were unable to pay the exactions of the company. They even extended this combination so far as to deprive the landed proprietors of their leases, and dispose of the land for their own profit. The soil became consequently neglected, a scarcity of food was the result of British avarice; pestilence and disease succeeded to famine, and the company became embarrassed, through the rapacity of their agents and servants. A loan was granted them by government, by general Burgoyne, who had been chairman of the committee of inquiry, proposed the examination of lord Clive respecting the manner in which he had acquired the sum of one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds, during his residence in India. The talents of Mr. Thurlow, in conducting the prosecution, and of Wedderburne who defended, were equally exercised; and, together, caused the suit to be dropped, on the ground of propriety\*.

\* In the spring of this year, the dowager princess of Wales died at Carlisle in the fifty-third year of her age. His majesty received afflicting news from Berlin of a conspiracy, under the direction of the queen mother, had expelled the

The year 1773 forms a principal epoch in the Catholic Church, on account of the suppression of the Jesuits, the bull which was signed on the 21st of July, by pope Clement XIV. Ganganelli, who by the interest of France had been raised in the papal chair, the 19th of May, 1769, possessedalted talents, and his comprehensive genius penetrated the emancipation of mind which was then working by progressive certain means throughout Europe. A faithful servant of Christ, and an able instrument of political wisdom, Ganganelli saw that the society had acquired that height of power which rendered its continuance formidable to the sovereigns of Europe, and he secured the peace of his church by this timely check to the further progress of its ambition. He dissolved their communities, but allowed those to remain in papal dominions who were usefully employed, and avoided taking any means towards the restoration of order. Cardinal York, brother to the Pretender, was particularly attached to the Jesuits; they petitioned his grace to offer their remonstrance to the pope, but it was of no avail: the cardinal received the order of his holiness to expel them from their house at Frescati, of which he was pope, and he executed the pope's order without delay. The king then received the dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, and sent them to George III., with such gratifying and honourable distinctions, as induced the English monarch to express his pleasure in a letter to the pope, which he accompanied with some presents; and the correspondence was continued during the life of Ganganelli.

About this period, a bill was brought into the house by lord Howe, which obtained an increase of two shillings a day for the half-pay captains in the navy.

The parliament of 1774, opened with a propitious aspect. The confusion which had latterly prevailed in the nation had subsided; lord North, from his knowledge of finance,

with his queen Caroline Matilda, from the throne. The king resented his sister's further persecution, she having been accused of an improper connexion with the adventurer Struensee. He sent a squadron to convey her to Zell, where she died of a malignant fever three years afterwards.

and his natural eloquence, had become more popular: the king recommended this interval of prosperity as a time for improving the internal state of the kingdom. Six weeks had been given to the subject, when the session of parliament was called to certain documents and resolutions stating the republican spirit of the Bostonians, and the very measure which had been adopted to grant the East India Company—the permission for them to export a quantity of tea free of duty to America; and which caused general dissatisfaction among the colonists, who were previously resolved to prevent the importation of the tea in consequence of three pence on the pound reserved by the English legislature to prove its right of taxation. At the same time, doctor Franklin discovered that a letter had been written by the governor of Massachusetts to the British government, asking for assistance to alter and abridge the liberties of the inhabitants, and render them subservient to England. He made this proceeding known to the town assembly at Boston, at which port, three of the company's ships just arriving with tea, the multitude tarred and feathered the Custom-house officer when performing his duty, and threw the cargoes into the sea. In discussing this subject, the opposition said that the disturbances in America had arisen in taxation; and suggested a motion for inquiry into the conduct of ministers, respecting the degree of violence which had provoked this resistance. Inquiry was insisted only in regard to the misconduct of the Americans. The ministers, in taking this partial view of the case, considered only two points as essential; to satisfy the East India Company for their tea, and to resent the insult offered to Britain; for which purpose they proposed a bill to shut the port of Boston. This was opposed by Fox, as unjust and inexpedient, without hearing the accused party. His reason was not attended to; and the bill for closing the port of Boston passed the house, and another bill for changing the government of Massachusetts. Nor did the eloquence of Edmund Burke, who stated the anticipated results of such justice, nor the prayer of Mr. Bollen, agent for the province,

their decision until the colonists should be heard by their  
el, have the least effect in abating the violence of mini-

A fleet of several ships of war was sent to Boston, and  
al Gage appointed governor, in the place of Mr.  
inson, who returned to England. A third bill was  
red, and ministers never seemed so arduous as in their  
, not only to punish, but to obliterate every manly  
g in the natives of Boston. The latter bill was to  
re the exercise of civil justice; which caused Mr. Rose  
r, a man of moderate and independent principles, to  
his speech on that occasion, by saying, "If ever there  
was a nation running headlong to destruction, it is this."

inquiry into the abuses practised in prisons, caused  
mination of Mr. Howard, sheriff of Bedford, whose  
to ameliorate the condition of his suffering fellow crea-  
had led him to expose his life to the risk of infectious  
e, by personally visiting these abodes of wretchedness.  
suggestion of this humane gentleman, many alterations  
made, which added to the healthfulness, and improved  
morals, of the inhabitants of these necessary places of  
ement.

erary property became a subject of discussion this session,  
as left as fixed in the time of queen Anne, to be the ex-  
e property of the author for fourteen years, and fourteen  
if the author lived so long; and then to be at an end.

a death of Louis XV. caused a great change in the  
al policy of France. His weak understanding had  
red him the tool of his ministers and favourites. The  
of his life was degraded by every species of prodigality  
cess; and such was the disgust his conduct had excited  
ghout the nation, that his people considered the moment  
dissolution as that of deliverance from a disgraceful yoke.

pains were taken to conceal from him the nature of  
morder, which was the small pox, that it was only by  
est determined perseverance that his youngest daughter,  
me Louisa, got access to his chamber. She had taken  
eil, and was prioress in the convent of Carmelites at



St. Denis. Hearing of her parent's danger, she, in a sense of filial duty, quitted the convent to warn him and found him sinking into the arms of death. Some of her last thoughts were employed on his unworthy misdeeds. Besides the valuable acquisitions which he had procured during his life, he had "thrown" upon her, he committed to her for her use in a port-folio, (the care of which he committed to the duke d'Aiguillon,) notes to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; and which the king afterwards took to his new master, Louis XVI. Louis was but a grandson to the late monarch, and ascended the throne when he was twenty years of age, under numerous political disadvantages; but he laboured under great personal disadvantages from his neglected education. However, he formed a new administration according to the injunctions left him by his deceased father.

When the order of the English to close the port of Boston reached America, a copy of the act, surrounded with all the circumstances which attended it, was soon circulated through all the provinces. On the 1st of June, the day appointed for the execution of the act, they resolved to spend the day in fasting and prayer. In each province was framing resolutions, the other bills were all rejected. These raised their irritated feelings to the highest pitch, and they formed an association, in which they bound themselves by a solemn league and covenant, to cut off all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, until the Boston port bill, and other acts, should be repealed, and the colony restored to its ancient rights. General Gage took the precaution to place some regiments at Boston. All the colonies, with the exception of Georgia, united in their resolution to resist taxation. A general meeting of congress was fixed for the 15th of September, at Philadelphia, in which they declared their willing allegiance to his majesty, and most explicitly explained their wish not to separate from the mother country; but they maintained that they had a mutual right to participate in all the rights and privileges of British-born subjects. Lastly, they drew up a petition to the

ing in most respectful language, in which they firmly, but humbly, implored their peace, liberty, and safety; disclaiming all pretensions to any new privileges, but earnestly praying to be restored to their former rights, on an equality with other British subjects. This was subscribed by all the delegates.

In England, the parliament was dissolved six months before the completion of seven years; and in the election which followed, Mr. Wilkes was chosen, and took his seat in Middlesex without opposition. Both houses exhibited a display of talent before unequalled. The new parliament opened with the same sentiments from the throne with which the last had closed, and the same determination on the part of the ministers to employ coercive means with America. At this period, the real sentiments of lord North appeared in his most ardent friends vindicated his conduct in America, as founded on political faith; whilst others presented him as acting under secret control. The latter was the most prevalent opinion, since time has cleared the mist which then surrounded his conduct. During the winter recess, meetings were held in all the principal towns, in which they deprecated the ruinous issue from a war with the colonies; and on the opening of parliament, the table was covered with petitions in favour of peace. These were referred to a committee, which, in the attention it paid to their contents, was called into a state of oblivion. A petition from America was presented to the king, who referred it to the house; but the king, irritated like a resentful parent, who feared to listen to excuses, lest he should find grounds of pardon, refused to receive it, and thus lost the opportunity of satiating his revenge. The duke of Chatham, who had absented himself in consequence of his declining health, now left his sick chamber to try the effect of his eloquence in averting the evils which threatened the country. He proposed a petition to his majesty to recall the troops from Boston; but all attempts to frustrate the minister's favourite measure were ineffectual. On the 4th of February, Massachusetts Bay was declared in the name of the house to be in a state of rebellion.

arrived in camp before London on 1st July, with courage and skill; and in conjunction engaged in the siege of Quebec, from which by the English troops, with the loss of 1000

Great dissatisfaction was expressed in motion for increasing the number of soldiers having been stated by ministers that cowards, who would not stand the fire and that only a small number of our men be sufficient to intimidate them into submission they found they were opposed by men equal to themselves, and enthusiastically devoted to independence.

Mr. Fox offered to produce papers in which he shew the delusion of ministers, and the waste of money; but the ministers persevered in their ultimate success. Yet, in the beginning North showed great want of firmness, and was conciliatory, if he had not been deterred by the leagues, among whom lord Mansfield was assessed, as he undoubtedly was, of wisdom also gave into the delusive notion that

from their lateness in leaving England, and other did not gain the expected advantages. The congress, continued to sit and to enact laws, still courted congress, and waited the result of their petition to the king. it ascertained that nothing short of abject submission satisfy the mother country, it declared the allegiance forfeited by the deprivation of the king's protection, and they resolved to form a constitution which secure their rights. This resolution was followed by an renunciation of their union with the British crown, declaration that they were now free and independent

general Howe was joined by his brother, lord Howe, and campaign opened with the battle of Long Island, on the 27th of August, from which the Americans effected a retreat to New York, without losing a man, and our troops took possession of Long Island. The capture of New York, on the 15th of September, was followed by the Americans setting fire to the town; a great part of which was saved by the exertion of the soldiers. After an undeviating course of victory, general Howe led his troops into winter quarters; and in the disposition of them, he departed from his usual discipline, and allowed them to be too much scattered; which annoyed the Hessian troops, who, from their depredations and cruel conduct, had roused the resentful feelings of the inhabitants of New Jersey, to be surprised by the Americans in their cantonments: a thousand were made prisoners, and a number that were slain.

At home, the attention of parliament was called from the affairs of America to the consideration of a conspiracy formed in the East Indies, against lord Pigot, governor of Madras; and ended in his recall, as also that of the members of the House who had opposed him.

On the 30th of May, the earl of Chatham, supported by his friends, once more appeared in the house, to try his endeavours to save his country. He moved an address to the king, in which he stated the insidious conduct of France, and intently assisting the views of America; and he strove

recommended a cessation of hostilities, and a removal of the grievances which had been practised on the Americans. His admonitory advice was, as before, disregarded.

Whilst general Howe, with his officers, amused themselves at the gaming-table, and enjoyed the luxury of his amusements at New York, the American commander Washington, invigorated the spirits of his followers, by study of military discipline; France and Spain made England by treating with the colonists as an independent people; and general Burgoyne was busily employed with George Germaine in London, on the plan of an expedition through the wilds of America, in which they were to employ the Indians as auxiliaries, a measure that was followed with fatal consequences, and at length ended in a treaty with the enemy.

At home great dissatisfaction appeared against the conduct of the minister, which was increased by accounts from Ireland, where the greatest anarchy prevailed from the restrictions imposed by England on their trade and manufactures. The moderate but firm measures adopted by lord Harcourt, who went over as viceroy, did much towards restoring order among the Irish.

This session of parliament had opened with an account of general Howe's success, accompanied with anticipations of new victories. In one month after, intelligence was brought that general Burgoyne and his army were prisoners of war at Saratoga. At the same time it was represented that France had signed a treaty with America.

Lord Chatham, aware that it would be derogatory to England freely to acknowledge the independence of America, came to the house to perform his duty in delivering his sentiments: he had spoken with energy, and had risen to speak a second time, when pressing his hand on his heart, he fell down in a convulsive fit, from which he never recovered, and died a few days after, in his seventieth year.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

## REIGN OF GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

he address to the throne, on the meeting of parliament, was proposed to contrast the state of the kingdom at his Majesty's accession with its present situation,—a step adopted by the opposition to shew the calamitous state of England, the necessity there was that ministers should return to the former system of government. Previous to the commencement of operations, that party decided on a regular line of attack under the following heads: political economy, preservation of the constitution, and the conduct of the administration, which they intrusted to their most able leaders, Messrs. Dunning, and Fox. In the execution of this plan, Charles Fox, the second son of lord Holland, was personally opposed to William Pitt, the second son of the late lord Bute. The preliminary contention respecting the motion for an address displayed the most powerful effects of oratory that had ever been made in the British senate: it was, however, carried by a considerable majority in favour of ministers. The first matter of importance that came before this parliament was the state of Ireland, which brought from lord North a plan of amelioration that met with the approbation of the commons, and, as it opened her ports of commerce for the import and export of her manufactures, the change was hailed with enthusiasm throughout the sister kingdom, while at home the opposition attacked the national expenditure as being wasteful and extravagant throughout the separate departments of the government offices; and the eloquence and financial knowledge of Mr. Burke were amply displayed in his plan for general reform and general management. The subject was interesting to the nation, and the motion was supported by petitions from different parts of the kingdom, calling for a change of measures and of men. But at this time the attention of all parties was attracted by a sudden proposal. Sir George Saville had in the preceding session proposed a bill to repeal the act of William III., which imposed

great penalties and disabilities on the Roman Catholics, and which passed both houses without opposition. The good and loyal conduct of this body of his majesty's subjects, and their readiness to risk their lives and fortunes in defence of their king and country, were generally acknowledged; but in consequence of the population of Scotland expressing a dread of granting toleration to Catholics, the bill did not extend to that part of the British dominions. This encouraged a set of fanatics in England, who formed themselves into an association to protect the Protestant religion, and wished to keep up an intolerant spirit towards Catholics. They were ignorant, uninformed persons, who, had they been allowed to pursue their plan unassisted by a more powerful leader, would have sunk into oblivion from their own insignificance; but Lord George Gordon, a young nobleman who possessed a wild, unbounded imagination, which had not yet been matured by judgment and experience, finding this society a fit object for his theoretical genius, joined the club, and thus raised it into temporary importance. He became their chairman, and, free from even the apprehension of any fatal results, he proposed in a meeting of the society at Coachmaker's-hall on the 29th of May, that they should collect at ten o'clock on the 2d of June in St. George's Fields, when they should carry a petition to the House of Commons, praying a repeal of the late act of toleration granted to the Roman Catholics.

This resolution, though known to parliament, was totally disregarded; and the members were much surprised on the following Friday to perceive the approach of fifty thousand persons, distinguished by blue cockades bearing the inscription "No Popery." Lord George presented the petition, which was rejected by nearly the whole of the members; upon which he harangued his followers in very vehement and inflammatory language, which would probably have caused them to force their way into the parliament-house, but for the magnanimous conduct of general James Murray, uncle of the duke of Athol, who intimidated his romantic spirit. Coming to Lord George Gordon, and putting his hand to his sword, the general said: "Lord George, if one man of your lawless followers enter our house, I shall consider rebellion as begun."

plunge my sword into you, as its leader and pro-

evening the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian  
adors were burnt. This proceeding excited the most  
pprehensions among the resident Catholics throughout  
. On the following Monday the number of the mob  
atly increased by the idle and the profligate, who are  
ad to seize an occasion to plunder. Their violence  
longer confined to the Catholics, but was exerted  
r they could do most injury. The burning of New-  
led three hundred to the rioters, and popular fury was  
ected to the instruments of justice: the property of  
Fielding and of lord Mansfield was totally sacrificed.  
et and other prisons were set on fire; the spirituous  
from the distilleries streamed down the kennels of the  
and it was not till Thursday evening that the riot was  
by the military. The leader, lord George Gordon,  
it by a warrant from the secretary of state's office to  
ver.

ous to the dissolution of parliament the rioters were  
id many were found guilty and condemned. Several  
commended to mercy, but twenty-five persons, the  
olent of them, were executed. This event was fol-  
y the general election, which took place with very  
mmotion, except in Westminster, where of the two  
ing candidates, lord Lincoln and Mr. Fox, the latter  
minated on the 10th of October, a day that is still  
norated by the friends and admirers of that great  
on of opposition. The new parliament opened on the  
id the year closed with a declaration of war against  
l, which had refused the succours granted by different  
to England, and by various other means had shewn  
ition of hostility towards her old ally. The capture  
Laurens, president of the American council, with his  
discovered that a negotiation had been secretly carry-  
or two years between America and the States of Hol-  
rich treaty Mr. Laurens was then going to sign; and  
ight the matter to a crisis.



On the 5th of February lord George Gordon stood his trial, which lasted from eight o'clock on Monday morning till five the next morning, when the jury, after mature deliberation, pronounced his lordship not guilty. Though he escaped punishment for these proceedings, he was afterwards imprisoned for a libel on the queen of France, and ended his days in Newgate.

It was at this period that the honourable William Pitt entered on his political life, at the early period of his twenty-second year. His maiden speech in the House of Commons, as member for Appleby, rivetted the attention of the whole house: the subject was, economical reform of the civil list as proposed by Mr. Burke. Mr. Pitt voted on that side according with the sentiments of his father: the brilliant genius of Mr. Sheridan joined in the same political bias; but the bill was lost by a large majority.

During the session accounts from America brought intelligence that France had joined that country in opposing the interest of England; and that our troops had surrendered at York Town to their united armies. The example was followed by Spain, as well as by Russia, and the other northern powers of Europe, who had concluded a treaty at Copenhagen for the purpose of protecting neutral trade on terms exclusively their own. The declaration of war against Holland was followed by an order for reprisals, and many privateers proceeded from the Channel to attack the Dutch settlements in Surinam.

After the return of lord Howe from his unsuccessful war in America, the naval command devolved on admiral Byron, a man whose ill fortune had acquired him the name of "Foul-weather Jack." In 1782 Byron was recalled, and Rodney\* succeeded him, who was as much distinguished for the prosperity of his undertakings. He had commanded the English fleet in the West Indies, and, in conjunction with admiral

\* Such was this gentleman's passion for play, that his ruinous circumstances obliged him to quit England, and go to the continent in 1777, from whence he sent his lady to solicit a subscription among the members of the club at White's. That plan failing in success, the old marshal de Biron generously enabled him to return to his country. Rodney applied at the Admiralty for employment, and was named, in the autumn of 1779, to conduct an expedition to the West Indies.

Vaughan and the land forces, had taken the island of St. Eustatius from the Dutch, which so abounded in wealth, that the value found there was estimated at three millions. But the conduct of the commanders on that occasion brought disgrace on England, as they used oppressive measures in confiscating every kind of property that came within their reach; so that the inhabitants, particularly the Jews, were forced from their homes, and found a refuge in the humanity of the people of St. Christopher's. The Spaniards aimed to possess themselves of Gibraltar, against which the combined fleets of France and Spain made a daring attempt; but were repulsed by the valiant defence of the governor, general Elliot. France in the succeeding year joined Spain in an attack on Minorca, when the garrison were so disabled by sickness, as to be incapable of any great exertions; however their bravery has no parallel: when the sickly remains of the garrison were compelled to lay down their arms, they declared they "surrendered them to God alone," in allusion to their disabled state.

This intelligence was followed by that of an engagement in the West Indies with the French fleet under M. de Grasse, in which the English, after much valiant fighting on both sides, were victorious.

In the East, Hyder Ally had succeeded in gaining the capital of Arcot, and his success encouraged the hope that he should drive the British from that part of the globe; but this year sir Eyre Coote was victorious in an engagement with the forces of Hyder Ally, and his death soon after gave the government to his son, Tippoo Saib, who was more friendly disposed towards England, so that our affairs in that quarter had a better appearance.

During these engagements abroad, the nation had to lament the loss of the Royal George at Spithead, where that fine ship had been brought to be repaired, and in which it was supposed nine hundred persons went to the bottom.

In America, the congress continued to declare their determination not to terminate the war with Britain until she acknowledged the independence of the states. Great disputes arose in the House of Commons respecting the con-

tinuance of the war, and many petitions were presented against it, which were all opposed by the ministry. The conduct brought a motion from sir John Rous, which was in plain terms, "that the house could no longer entrust confidence in the ministers." The king was then pleased to appoint a new administration, which was of short duration, in consequence of the death of the marquis of Rockingham, the first lord of the treasury. His death was followed by lord Shelburne succeeding to the office, and some resignations. The parliament had a long prorogation in consequence of impending treaties regarding the preliminaries of which, between England and the powers of France and Spain, were signed on the 20th of January. A negotiation with the United States of America was preparing. Great altercation passed between the ministry and the opposition; and all parties were astonished at receiving a coalition in political interests between lord North and Mr. Fox, a measure that caused great disgust throughout the kingdom. The king now appointed the duke of Devonshire to be first lord of the treasury, and lord North and Mr. Fox to be secretaries of state. At this period, his majesty granted an allowance of sixty thousand pounds out of the civil list to the prince of Wales; to whom the Commons voted an additional sum of sixty thousand pounds, for the establishment of his household, on his royal highness attaining the age of twenty-one.

After the close of the session, the king seized this opportunity to institute the order of the knights of St. Patrick; to consist of the sovereign and fifteen companions, the two chief governors of Ireland to officiate as grand masters; and he was pleased to confer the honour on the following:—

His Royal Highness Prince Edward,	Randal William, Earl of Antrim,
His Grace William, Duke of Leinster,	Thomas, Earl of Westmeath,
Henry Smyth, Earl of Clanricarde,	Morrrough, Earl of Inchiquin,
Charles, Earl of Drogheda,	Thomas, Earl of Bective,
George de la Poer, Earl of Tyron	Henry, Earl of Ely,
Richard, Earl of Shannon,	Chancellor, Archbishop of Dublin,
James, Earl of Clanbrassen,	Register, Dean of St. Patrick's,
Richard, Earl of Mornington,	Secretary, Lord Delvin,
James, Earl of Courtown,	Ulster, William Hawkins, Esq.,
James, Earl of Charlemont,	Usher, John Freemantle, Esq.,

1782, articles were signed, in which England acknowledged the independence of America. On the opening of parliament, on the 11th of February, the king announced the conclusion of a general peace. The prince of Wales was introduced, and took his seat on the right hand of the throne. After the king had retired, his royal highness took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the declaration of abjuration.

Mr. Fox brought in a bill respecting the East India Company, which he proposed vesting the affairs of the East India Company in the hands of commissioners, and provided for a better regulation of territorial acquisitions. It was opposed by Pitt and others; however, it passed the Commons, but was lost in the House of Lords. Mr. Pitt then brought forward a bill relative to India, which was likewise rejected.

The two leaders of administration incurred the serious displeasure of the sovereign, who required Mr. Fox and lord North to resign the seals on the 19th of December, without permitting them an interview. The honourable William Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. This change was followed by a division of opinions, expressed with personal acrimony, between Pitt and Fox. A number of gentlemen formed a meeting at St. Alban's tavern, for the purpose of conciliating the two parties, but without effect; and the king thought proper, contrary to his expressed intention when he opened the parliament, to dissolve it. On that same day, some robbers carried off the great seal of England from the lord chancellor's house in Great Ormond-street, without being discovered.

On the 18th of May, both houses met, but were at first disturbed by the scrutiny into the Westminster election, which ended in declaring lord Hood and Mr. Fox to be duly elected. Little was done this session besides passing a bill for the better government of the East India company, and obtaining a bill for the restoration of estates in Scotland, which had been forfeited in the rebellion of 1745.

The state of Ireland formed a principal subject of discus-

sion in the present parliament. The people of that country shewed great dissatisfaction at the rejection of a bill to restrict the importation of English drapery, by a tax on that article, in order to enforce the consumption of their own manufactures. Great tumult was the result. Dublin became a scene of riotous confusion, and the military were obliged to be called out to quell it. Mr. Pitt seeing the necessity, adopted suitable measures for establishing a commercial treaty with Ireland, the basis of which, he maintained, must be mutual reciprocity in trade; but when he had reduced his plan to shape, and sent the conditions to Ireland, Mr. Flood and Mr. Grattan declaimed against them, as likely to be disadvantageous to that kingdom, and the measure was abandoned.

The state of England was at this time flourishing; and a plan proposed by Mr. Pitt, for the reduction of the national debt, elated the hopes of every commercial man. Peace was established between the East India company and Tippoo Sah. Mr. Hastings, the governor of Bengal, had returned to England, and brought with him an accumulation of wealth which excited the interest and the envy of his contemporaries. In the succeeding session, Mr. Burke having before spoken against that gentleman's mode of government, major John Scott, a member of parliament, who had acted as secretary to Mr. Hastings, provoked further inquiry, by calling on Mr. Burke to bring forward his alleged accusations. On the 17th of February, Mr. Burke exhibited twenty-two charges against Mr. Hastings. The charges took up a length of time; so that the trial lasted several years. With respect to the prosecution, particularly on that part relating to the Begum charge, Mr. Sheridan said, "The administration of Mr. Hastings formed a medley of meanness and outrage, of duplicity and depredation, of prodigality and oppression, of the most callous cruelty, contrasted with the hollow affectation of liberality and good faith." Mr. Hastings, in his defence, declared, "That he had the satisfaction to see all his measures terminate in their designed objects; that his political conduct was invariably regulated by truth, justice,

good faith ; and that he resigned his charge in a state established peace and security ; with all the sources of its abundance unimpaired, and even improved." These contrary opinions caused Belsham, in his memoirs, to say, " we required, by a species of faith that can work miracles, to believe that there existed in India crimes without a criminal, oppression without an oppressor, and tyranny without a tyrant."

On the 2nd of August, as the king was getting out of his carriage at St. James's Gate, a woman held up a paper, and presented it as a petition, which his majesty condescendingly took. In giving the paper with her right hand, she aimed a blow with a knife in her left at the king, who feeling the wound between his coat and waistcoat, exclaimed, " What does the woman mean ?" Perceiving the knife fall from her hand,

he continued, " I am sure I have not deserved such treatment from any of my subjects." Then, seeing a yeoman of the guards seize the woman, his majesty desired the man to

not hurt her : " I am not hurt," said the monarch ; " take care of the woman." Her name was Margaret Nicholson ; she was proved to be insane, and was sent to Bethlehem hospital.

France was now fast merging into infidelity. The writings of Helvetius, Rousseau, and Voltaire, found everywhere disciples ; and the indulgent monarch, Louis XVI., allowed the passions of his subjects to wander in all their visionary schemes, without employing the means of industry or restraint, to counteract against the delusive principles of theory. The policy of the first minister, M. de Colonne, invited by a decree all artists and manufacturers to settle in the kingdom. It is recorded in the *Annual Register* of this year, that fourteen vessels arrived in the harbour of Dunkirk, from North America, with the families, goods, and property, of a colony of Quakers and Baptists. Mr. Pitt conceived that amicable intercourse was advantageous to nations ; and he proposed a treaty of navigation and commerce with France, on the mutual ground of reciprocity. Mr. Fox opposed the measure, on the plea, that no commercial treaty with France could be beneficial to England, as the long-indulged en-

between the two nations rendered an union of interests impossible. The treaty, however, was approved by a majority in both houses, and was consequently established.

The debts which, about this period, had been contracted by the prince of Wales engrossed much of the public attention. His munificent disposition, added to the pleasurable pursuits of the day, which his royal highness enjoyed with more of superior talents and refined manners, but whose expensive habits afforded no examples of prudential economy, brought him before the country in no enviable light.

A statement of the prince's affairs having been laid before his father, it was his royal highness's intention, by a retrenchment of his expenses, together with such aids as a royal parent might think proper to give him, to arrange a temporary difficulty without an application to parliament. With this view the prince sold his racers and hunting and reduced his establishment: a measure highly to be commended in the prince; but which the nation viewed with regret, from the great affection all ranks in society entertained towards his royal highness, and from the unfitness of a private gentleman. It was therefore with pleasure the Commons received a message from the king, which enabled them to take the matter under their consideration; and by an additional allowance, the business was arranged to the prince's satisfaction.

The trial of Mr. Hastings again proceeded; in this stage of the case, Mr. Sheridan, in a speech of five hours and a half, so completely intranced the house by his oratorical powers, that Mr. Pitt proposed an adjournment, previous to forming any deliberate opinion; in order that the members might have time to recover from their delirium, and be enabled to extract truth from the charms of eloquence.

The trade in slaves, carried on between Africa and the European nations, now became an object of parliamentary consideration. It was first pointed out by the Quakers in the independent provinces of South America, who, in many places, had emancipated their slaves. The same society



presented an association on a similar principle in England, and petitions were presented by Mr. Wilberforce, and sir Henry Bolton, which were left for future discussion. A bill passed in session for the relief of the American loyalists; and one which gave to lord Newburgh, the grandson of the Charles Radcliffe, a rent charge of two thousand five hundred pounds, out of the forfeited estates of the earl of Eglar.

year the mental affliction, which became of such consequence to the king and to the nation, first his majesty. For some days the public remained of the nature of the malady; but after its confinement a fortnight, it was the general subject of conversation the source of general regret.

government found itself in a no less awkward than situation, and the parliament was prorogued to the December. Mr. Fox was then in Italy, to whom the of Wales sent a request that he would immediately for the purpose of arranging the administration; as, according to all former precedents, the power of government, in the absence of the king, had been confided, in part at least, to the nearest heir to the crown. Strength of talent certainly on the side of opposition, the popular voice was in favour of the minister; and experience authorises us to say, that no one ever grasped power with a firmer hold than did Mr. Pitt. The spirit of party then ran so high, that it is not yet possible to distinguish its effects with accuracy; and religion, which is found on all occasions to be a powerful advocate, was enlisted in the cause, to intimidate the rigid Protestant with fear, lest the prince's attachment to a Catholic might endanger the established faith! a phantom which hypocrisy alone could raise, and only the most deluded fanatic believe. After violent debates, and much party altercation, the prince of Wales was informed in a letter from Mr. Pitt, of the intention of parliament to invest him as regent; but to withhold his power from the king's person and household; with so many other restrictions, as caused his royal highness in his answer, given on the 2d



March, his majesty was declared to be  
Addresses of congratulation came in fr  
kingdom. In every town illuminations  
strations of joy, expressed the national fe  
val of St. George, his majesty, with the  
panied by the members of the two houses  
in procession to St. Paul's, to solemniz  
giving for the event.

According to a promise given by the l  
of the British constitution should be e  
that province now applied for a form  
the better accommodation of its inhabita  
posed to divide the province into Upper  
and to provide separate laws, which mig  
Canadian noblesse on the one hand, and t  
rican colonists on the other. In the cour  
Mr. Fox observed that it would be wrong  
distinctions, where they had been lon  
equally wrong to create those distinctions  
was not suited for their establishment. I  
lately published a very excellent work c

opinions by a full explanation of his sentiments on the revolution. He expressed sorrow that he could not hurt the feelings of his friend; but in quoting some of his former writings in favour of liberty, he incurred the charge of inconsistency. From this period, the friendship of the two former friends, Burke and Fox, remained unimpaired.

In the month of May, the subject of the slave trade was revived in an eloquent speech from Mr. Wilberforce, a friend and fellow-creature, who endeavoured to shew, that interest could draw a film over the eyes of those produced by total blindness; alluding to the statement made by Mr. Norris, one of the delegates from Liverpool, of their dancing and other recreations practised on board the ships that were sent to convey them to their native shore; of their excellent food, and the beautiful view of their apartments perfumed with frankincense. Whereas the reverse of that statement was the fact.

Living witnesses proved that the slaves underwent the greatest hardships and cruelties during the voyage. Of this, "death," Mr. Wilberforce observed, was the most unerring witness; as twelve and a half per cent were expected to die on the passage, four and a half per cent between their landing and the day of sailing, besides casualties during the seasoning. The business was then deferred, and again revived, Mr. Jenkinson, colonel Tarlton, and two members for Liverpool, lord Penryn, and Mr. G. Canning defended its continuance. At length the matter resolved in the passing of sir William Dolben's bill. In April, Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in another bill, to prevent the importation of African Negroes into the colonies. Mr. Fox stated some instances of the cruelties committed by Europeans upon the unfortunate slaves. His eloquence failed in its expected result, and the bill was not passed.

It would be inconsistent with the narrow limits of this work, to enter into a circumstantial account of the

revolution\*. Many able pens have described it; is scarcely a person to whom some unfortunate occurred that period is not known. The generosity of the nation was conspicuous, wherever it could extend to the sufferers. The causes were complicated, and sufficiently unveiled to be useful to posterity, precisely the love of luxury, and the eager pursuit of wealth, made them to be acknowledged. The avidity with which the change draws people into the commission of unpunished vice, was then most apparent in the conduct of French people. They destroyed the Bastille, under a pretension of giving liberty to, as they supposed, a vast number of victims, and were greatly disappointed to find only a few prisoners within its walls. And they pronounced it equal, out of a frolic, as the following account serves to

“ Among the adventurers that now crowded to London

\* “ One of their first enormities was the murder of a large proportion of the French, and the banishment of almost the whole of the remaining part. Some of those respectable exiles found refuge in England. A private subscription of 15s. 9½d. was immediately made for them. When it was exhausted a second was collected under the auspices of his majesty, and produced 41,304l. 12s. 6½d. Not much to say, that the beneficence of individuals, whose charities on this score are known to God alone, raised for the sufferers a sum much exceeding the most liberal of the two subscriptions. When, at length, the wants of the sufferers exceeded the measure of private charity, government took them under its protection; and engaged in a war exceeding all former wars in expense, appropriated, for the relief of the whole kingdom, a monthly allowance of about £8000 for their support, an instance of splendid munificence and systematic liberality, of which the world do not furnish another example. So suddenly had the French been driven from their native country, that few had brought with them any books of religion or devotion, which their clerical character and habits of piety made the companions of their past life, and which were to become the comfort of their future years. To relieve them from this misfortune, the University at her sole expense, printed for them, at the Clarendon Press, two thousand copies of the Latin Vulgate of the New Testament from an edition of Barbeau; but not being deemed sufficient to satisfy their demand, two thousand copies were added at the expense of the marquis of Buckingham. Few will forget the blameless demeanour, the long patient suffering of these respectable men. Their sudden removal into a foreign country, differing from their's in religion, language, and habits, the uniform tenor of their pious and unoffending lives procured them universal respect and good will. The country that received them has been favoured in the midst of public and private calamity, which almost every other nation has experienced, Providence has crowned her with glory and honour; peace has been established in her palaces, plenty within her walls; every climate has been tributary to her, and every sea has been witness of her victories.”—Butler's Life of Erasmus.

In France was a Prussian, named Clootz, who, leaving his own country for mal-practices, assumed the name of the sage Anacharsis, and gave the Parisians lessons in philosophy. To make himself more conspicuous, he collected his acquaintance, and a number of other idle persons and rascals who frequented the streets, and having hired a quantity of foreign and grotesque dresses from the opera-house and the theatres, he dressed up his followers, and taking them to the National Assembly, introduced them as strangers and ambassadors from the enslaved nations, who wished to be free, and were disposed to enter into fraternity with France, for the purpose of establishing universal liberty. The deputation was graciously received, and honoured with a serious decree to abolish titles and hereditary nobility, with all heraldic monuments which could recall to the descendants the distinction and merits of their ancestors". \*

Mr. Burke was so convinced that the system pursued by French revolutionists would deprave the moral character, produce misery, that he gave his attention to a close investigation of the subject, and deduced principles from which he wrote a valuable and convincing work, which soon produced a change in the minds of those who had argued in favour of the French revolution.

The transaction in the British metropolis claimed so much attention and excited so much interest as the contest between Mr. Tooke and Charles James Fox for Westminster in the general election of 1790, when Mr. Fox was again chosen.

March the whole house resolved itself into a committee on Mr. Mitford's motion to relieve the Catholics from certain disabilities and disabilities still impending over that body, according to Burn's ecclesiastical law, on the principle that, in the preceding year, a large body of Catholic dissenters had publicly protested against the temporal powers of the pope, against his authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths. The bill passed with the unanimous approbation of both houses.

\* Bisset's *Reign of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 298.

party spirit was created throughout the country. Some stigmatized the assertors of Gallic liberty as disturbers of all order, while others considered the revolution in France as the basis of a system of political liberty, peace, happiness, and concord. The late king's effigies were taken down from the walls of the universities for celebrating the event. A meeting was held at the Anchor Tavern in London was followed in many of the provincial towns. It unfortunately happened at Birmingham that a good deal of animosity at that time subsisted between the high church and low church senters. A meeting having been fixed to celebrate the revolution, some ill-designed persons left a circular printed seditious and inflammatory handbill at every house, proposing the revolution as a model for imitation, and exhorting the people to rebellion.

The meeting took place; but it was evident that the mob had mistaken the intention of the gentlemen. They surrounded the hotel, and uttered groans and threats that the party thought it prudent to separate before dinner. In the evening the meeting-house was broken down; Dr. Priestley, and his valuable library, were destroyed; the number of the rioters increased, and many houses were burned and much other property destroyed.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## REIGN OF GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)

At the opening of the session in January, the king informed parliament of the marriage of his second son, the duke of York, with the eldest daughter of the king of Prussia, which was solemnized in the chapel at St. James's on the 23d of November. The Commons passed a bill to settle twenty-five thousand pounds per annum on the duke of York, and eight thousand pounds per annum on the duchess, in case she should survive his royal highness.

On the 16th of March, a man named Ankerstroom discharged a pistol at Gustavus III., king of Sweden, which wounded him, and he died on the 29th\*.

During this session the house went into a committee on the subject of the slave-trade, and gave it as their opinion that it should be abolished. In the course of debate Mr. Pitt, and many others were for its immediate abolition. After many divisions the term was limited to the 1st day of January, 1796. In the House of Lords several of the peers were in favour of its indefinite continuance; the duke of Clarence particularly maintained the latter opinion.

The ministry now began to view the rapid progress of the French revolution with alarm, as to its moral and political results. The circulation of the "Rights of Man," and other works, from the pen of Thomas Paine, created a great spirit of republicanism in England, and caused the British ministers to issue a proclamation, in the king's name, against such publications. Louis XVI. had, on the 30th of Sep-

\* At the place of execution, when the assassin had undergone the torture, and been three times exposed and flogged, having his right hand cut off, and being about to receive the fatal blow, he addressed the spectators in the following words. "I now reach the minute of deliverance, and everlasting reward. I rejoice in my deed. I have rescued my country from a tyrant, by the only means left to a slave; I know that you will bless me for the act, and my memory will be sacred in Sweden: let your gratitude to me be shewn in friendship to my children." His head was then separated from his body, which being quartered, was exposed to public view.—LYTTLETON'S History of England, vol. iii. p. 437.

it disowned all distinctions among the basis of order, was annihilated, apportioned into eighty-three departments received different names; the condemned to lose their lives on the guillotine, and the whole continued course of iniquity and bloodshed.

On the 19th of January, 1793, the sentence of death on their lives, whose great misfortunes arose in a royal station at that particular period of knowledge through the French with a restless energy, which rather than passive indulgence. To the endearing qualities which would just, humane, and beneficent, he acted as a kind master would have acted with noble fortitude with which the revolution shewed the real strength of his religion in rendering him resigned. He was guillotined on the 21st of January, at his age.

The queen of France, the daughter

cussed in the English parliament, Mr. Fox gave his opinion, that, though the event of the death of the French king was disgraceful as any the page of history could furnish, he saw the expediency of the parliament expressing their opinion on this public act. But the king and the ministers were in favour of a war with France: the leading events of that period, particularly the spirit of innovation created by the revolution, excited an interest in the European powers to stand for the defence of monarchical principles. With this view they communicated with the friends of the ancient government of France, respecting the restoration of the Bourbons. Their government, the Convention, were inclined to wage war against kings, and issued a decree of *fraternization*, at which the English took umbrage, and joined the confederacy of Prussia, and the German empire, to restore its ancient government.

The Netherlands had been contending with France, since the period of the revolution. Dumourier, an able and experienced general, had succeeded La Fayette in the command of the republican army. He conquered the whole of the Netherlands. After the battle of Genappe, Dumourier was received at Brussels with acclamations of joy; Antwerp yielded to his arms, and the navigation of the Scheldt being resolved upon, the Dutch considered the navigation to Antwerp might prove injurious to the trade of Amsterdam. The English government declared alliance with the Dutch, and this provoked a declaration of war from France against Britain. A general engagement took place in March, between the Austrians and the French, at Mons: the action was long and violent, and ended in the defeat of the French, and in the defection of its army from Dumourier; who, displeased with the conduct of the French republican government, described his army to be in the greatest state of disorder, and nearly without provisions.

Making circumstances a pretext for his conduct, Dumourier, accompanied by young Egalité, and a few officers, with two regiments of horse, repaired to the enemy's camp at Mons.

Antwerp was surrendered in July to the Imperial forces, led



by the duke of Wirtemberg. This was an important conquest, as it commanded the navigation of the Scheldt, and was succeeded by the surrender of Valenciennes to the duke of York, who had arrived with the English troops, and taken the command of the allied army.

The internal state of France presented two discordant factions: the Girondists, who had shewn some inclination to save the king; and the party called the Mountain. The latter licensed blood and plunder, and thus became favourites of the rabble: by them was established the revolutionary tribunal, in which the sentence was without appeal. Other parties were formed, whose endeavours were employed to overturn the existing tyranny practised by Robespierre and his followers, who did not content themselves with abolishing every civil distinction, but they nationally abjured the Supreme Being, and by the extinction of piety followed the advice of Mirabeau, who laid it down as an axiom in politics to expel the Christian religion. This arbitrary government removed every obstacle by the violation of justice: if money was wanted, a forced loan brought every man's property within their grasp. When it was needful to recruit the army, the minister published a decree requiring all Frenchmen to be in readiness for the service of the nation with every warlike material. A council of war was held by the allies, in which it was agreed that their generals, Cobourg and Clairfait, should proceed with a part of their allied forces towards Paris, while the other part should go into Brittany. The duke of York thought it preferable to extend their conquests along the frontiers. His royal highness marched towards Dunkirk, and commenced the siege on the 27th of August. He expected a naval armament from Great Britain to act in conjunction with the land force; but from some unaccountable cause the heavy artillery was so long delayed, that the enemy had time to provide for the defence of the town. The French troops, commanded by Houchard, poured upon them in such numbers, that the duke was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, to avoid losing the whole of his men. Many who had entertained hopes of the design, after seeing the result, condemned the

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 Thomas Hardy was first put on  
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 d his fellow prisoners were all

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that the emperor of Germany should take the field, and be invested with the supreme command. Accordingly he arrived at Brussels, and being inaugurated as the duke of Brabant, joined the allied armies in April. Meanwhile the French had resolved to repel invasions, and to crush interference, wherever either opposed their designs, and to these ends all the energy of power was directed. General Pichegru, who possessed the greatest military talents, received the command of the army in the north. The campaign commenced with several conflicts between the allies and the republicans. The capture of Landrici proved that the valour of the British was superior to numbers; but Pichegru, by a new system of attack, became victorious, and this campaign ended in the defeat of the allied powers. The duke of York retired to Antwerp: the emperor returned to Vienna.

At this crisis his royal highness the prince of Wales, who had sedulously avoided any interference in politics, offered his services to his country as a volunteer, under the command of earl Moira, who was about to conduct an expedition into Flanders. Their majesties of England were unwilling to risk the person of the heir-apparent, and therefore the prince gave up the execution of his plan. The earl succeeded, after numerous hardships, in conducting the troops to the duke of York, and then returned to England. The increasing numbers of the French, whose losses were continually supplied with new recruits, rendered the exertions of the confederate army and the bravery of their troops of no avail. The king of Prussia announced his intention of withdrawing from the alliance: the troops he left with the allies were not equal in number to the aid for which he had been paid, nor were they at all zealous in their duty. The Austrians, too, were without vigour, and their officers were suspected of acting treacherously. That winter, the campaign having extended to Holland, the British suffered severely from the coldness of the climate, and from the want of medical assistance. No remonstrance could rouse the Dutch to any effective measures; some of them conceived the exertion hopeless, whilst others were unwilling to oppose the French; so that the

f York, considering further efforts useless, returned gland. The result of the war at this time was exactly erse of what the promoters of it had desired and ex-

Instead of preserving the navigation of the Scheldt Dutch, their seven provinces had submitted to the arms French. Instead of frustrating the aggrandizement of she had obtained more important acquisitions than mer victorious monarchs had been able to secure. ocean the English were everywhere victorious; on of June, earl Howe, in an engagement with the Brest btained a signal and glorious victory over superior s.

ng these transactions the punishment and death of ierre moderated the reign of terror, and allowed social dawn once more on France, and religion to raise er powerful voice.

England, Mr. Fox and his friends, by an affected of their personal appearance, had brought a discredit : pantaloons and cropped hair were universally seen, kles and ruffles were confined to court parties. In ar part of the year the trials of Hardy, Horne Tooke, l, and several others, for a conspiracy against the tion and peace of the kingdom excited extreme atten- The evidence for the prosecution consisted of papers l been found in the custody of different persons, and ere seized under the warrant of the privy seal. As l occupied many days, the jury were consigned to the the sheriffs, and were provided with beds at the Hum- in Covent Garden. Thomas Hardy was first put on ; Mr. Erskine, one of the counsel for the prisoner, in b of six hours, exhibited great professional knowledge ence, combined with all the ornaments of graceful and t rhetoric. Hardy and his fellow prisoners were all ed.

arguments used in this session by Mr. Pitt for con- the war were the same as he had uttered the preced- r; but the opposition party strengthened theirs with ng into the causes of the late failure. A new loan to

her father's court. She landed at Greenw April, and on the following day was married in the chapel royal, by the archbishop of C prince's income never had exceeded sixty thousand year, a sum not equal to his dignity, nor to that of former princes of Wales; a provision was made upon his royal highness, out of which an annuity was made for the payment of such debts as were contracted.

The trial of Mr. Hastings, which had lastly now finished with his acquittal. The expenses of the process was paid by the East India Company. Louis XVII., son of the late unfortunate monarch Louis XVI., and was succeeded in the title of king by Louis XVIII. An expedition sent from Britain to operate with the loyalists in La Vendée for the conquest of Belgium was completed by the British. The generals agreed on a truce for three months, during which the insurgents resisted the power of the convention. At this crisis that Napoleon Buonaparte first appeared in the field of war. His ardour gained the ascendancy over the insurgents; but in the convention the moderate faction gained the ascendancy, the violent faction was dissolved.

tumultuous conduct caused the proposal of a bill by Grenville for the better security of the king's person. As greatly extended the law of treason, it met with opposition; having gone through some modifications by Thurlow, and into a law, as did another by Mr. Pitt to prevent assemblies and meetings where the numbers exceeded fifty. The latter encroached on the liberty of the people, it tended to render the minister unpopular. The king in his speech showed a disposition to treat with the executive power of France, but England declined to make the first advances.

The disturbed state of Ireland now occupied much of the session of parliament. That the reader may form something

of the just opinion of the cause of the continual broils in which Ireland had been, and still continues to be, involved, he is referred to Dr. Bisset's History of the reign of George III.\*. He accounts for the backwardness of civilization in Ireland, and then goes on to state, that when that kingdom was conquered by Henry II., the blessings of social intercourse were not imparted to them; that, with the natural advantages of climate, soil, and situation, and possessing the seeds of intellectual talents, their rulers held them in a state of moral and political debasement. Even after James had abolished the feudal customs of *gavelkind* and *tanistry*, had established English laws, and, by his improvement of the province of Ulster, had convinced them of the happy results of industry and cultivation, still their love of national independence, and their superstitious credulity, led them to form a conspiracy to free themselves from England. The vigour of the usurper Cromwell crushed their plans, whilst his subsequent rapacity ren-

dered the efforts made in their favour by James ineffectual. Various struggles they became soothed and conciliated during the reign of Anne; but a law passed by George I., which transferred the subjection of Irish courts of justice to the trial by jury of England, was fatal to the interests of Ireland. In the reign of George II. their additional grant of exports relieved a part of the load under which they groaned; but the government became confused: their national spirit of

\* Vol. i. page 404.

independence made them averse from every approach to subordination, which gave rise to a banditti calling themselves White-boys, from wearing a white frock over their clothes, who destroyed enclosures under pretext of restoring commons to the poor, and in 1763 carried their atrocities to a frightful height. In their parliament two parties contended with equal violence, one, headed by lord Shannon and the family of Ponsonby, which might be called the Whig party; the other, persons of great personal consequence and family connexion. In 1767, a bill which limited the parliament to eight years' duration, which before was dissolved only by the demise of the crown, was received by all with a pleasure that evinced their willingness to meet the views of the parent country.

The dissatisfied state of that kingdom in 1780 had called forth discussion in the English parliament, when lord North's plan, allowing the ports for importation and exportation of her manufactures to be opened, was received with joy. From that period occasional efforts had been made to procure the removal of disabilities under which the body of Catholics (and the bulk of the population of Ireland were composed of Catholics) laboured. At first these petitions were rejected; but latterly they had been favourably received, and had found advocates in the prime minister, and in many leading members of the English parliament. In the beginning of the year earl Fitzwilliam entered upon the viceroyalty of Ireland, with the understanding (as he expressed in a letter to lord Carlisle) that he was empowered to *concede* emancipation to the Catholics, but not to *offer* it. However, as soon as he acted on that principle, the earl found that the Beresford party, who formed the chief members of the Irish ministry, were inimical to it, and he dismissed Mr. Beresford and some of his friends from their offices. This step offended the English cabinet; lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and lord Camden was appointed his successor. Lord Fitzwilliam challenged the English ministers respecting the blame implied by his recall, and asked for inquiry. They replied, that no blame was attached to lord Fitzwilliam, consequently there was no cause for inquiry; that reasons of state rendered the dis-

on improper. During some months after this transaction Ireland was in a state of great internal commotion, arising from disappointment that the Catholics should still be excluded from holding offices of state, and from sitting in parliament. They fancied they were unjustly precluded from participation of these rights, while the Protestants looked on with jealous fear on every approach to catholic emancipation, lest they should lose any of the acquisitions formerly belonging to that party.

A society, calling itself the *United Irishmen*, was formed with a view to connect the whole Irish nation by a general association of their condition, and an equal participation of rights with Protestants: this association, which was organized by Wolfe Tone, gave rise to an opposing one, known by the name of Orangemen. A plan was certainly operating in favour of French politics, when Cockayne, a friend to France, who was agent to the French government, gave information to Mr. Pitt, and was promised the sum of three thousand pounds on the capital conviction of his friend. This was effected by pretending to become one of the conspirators: he was proved guilty, and left for execution, which he avoided by committing suicide. After the recall of lord Camden, the society of United Irishmen were more active than before.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Arthur Connelley went to Paris in 1796, to arrange preliminaries for the rebellion; but it was not till the 24th of May, 1798, that the rebellion actually broke out at Naas, fifteen miles from Dublin.

Reynolds, a United Irishman, had given previous notice of the rebellion, upon which fourteen delegates were seized; lord Edward Fitzgerald resisted the officers who endeavoured to arrest him, and received a wound of which he died a few days afterwards.

Many dreadful excesses were committed by each party, which lord Camden urged the probable advantage to be derived from the employment of a lieutenant who could act in a military, as well as in a civil capacity, and the marquis Cornwallis was sent to repress the rebellion.

Lord Camden returned to England. The rebellion was shortly after totally extinguished by sir John Borlase Warren, who fell in with the troops and ammunition destined



by France for Ireland. Wolfe Tone was on that occasion made a prisoner, but he also evaded a public execution by self-murder.

The increase of eighty millions of debt, incurred in the last three years, was considered a most unnecessary burden, and the ministers were severely censured for their inefficient plan. The want of medicinal stores was felt by the troops in Holland and in the West Indies; and it was maintained by the opposition party, that Mr. Pitt's final object was, to increase the power of the crown, without a due regard to the rights of the people.

The principal actor in French politics at this time was Buonaparte, who was placed at the head of the French army in Italy. This youthful commander was born about 1769, in the island of Corsica. As it is impossible in this work to enter into any detail of his actions, yet, desirous to impress the reader with a just opinion of his great and various character, the following passage from Bisset's History of George III. is selected as most applicable. Posterity, when time shall have matured his designs, will know better how to delineate the genius of his mind. "To a head sagacious and inventive, instantaneous in comprehension, and rapid in effort, he joined a heart that was ardent, resolute, intrepid, and courageous; with an aspiring ambition, and an impetuous temper. He practised determined perseverance in his purposes, and did not scruple at any sacrifice to accomplish his ends; he was endued with penetration to search the minds of men and discern the springs of action, with manners that could conciliate or deter."

In this campaign the Austrians were defeated, and the king of Sardinia was compelled to accept of peace on the terms of France. At the battle of Lodi Buonaparte conquered the Imperialists, so that in Italy the Roman empire alone remained to be conquered.

The pope had resolved to resist the invasion of the French troops, and solicited assistance from Spain; but was answered by advice from the Spanish minister, to resign his temporal concerns, and to preserve his own safety and that of his

church. The pope, with an escort suited to his age and his dignity, left Rome, and proceeded to Florence, which place he made his temporary residence. The result was the defeat of the papal army, and a peace in 1797 on terms dictated by Buonaparte.

On the sea England maintained her right of conquest; general Abercrombie was successful in the West Indies, and several Dutch settlements were acquired by the squadron under admiral Elphinstone. At home, the birth of a princess, heir to the prince of Wales, was a subject of joy to the kingdom. The general election passed with less contention than the former ones, and in October lord Malmesbury went to Paris to treat on the terms of peace, but returned in December, without effecting that purpose. The succeeding year opened with a desponding aspect: an injurious and interminable war, and a threat of invasion of the kingdom of Ireland. A combination of causes, which produced terror throughout the country, and a rapid run upon the Bank of England, induced government to interfere, by giving an order that it should pay in notes instead of cash. At the same time universal discontent appeared among the sailors and soldiers of Britain, respecting the inadequacy of their pay to procure a comfortable subsistence: their complaints remained unredressed, as lord Bridport, commanding officer in the absence of lord Howe, of whom inquiry was made, stated, that no real discontent existed. But a determination of the sailors in the Channel not to allow a ship to heave her anchor until the grievance was redressed, ended in a mutiny at Portsmouth. This, however, appeared only as regarded that determination, as the men continued to perform their usual duties, and to behave with the usual respect to their officers. The lords of the admiralty went to Portsmouth, and promised their complaints should be relieved; but they were not actively put into execution; a month's delay followed the promise, and at the Nore a more serious mutiny took place. After the failure of lord Malmesbury's negotiation, motions had been made in both houses for a change of ministers, and were negatived.

In the course of the session, Charlotte Matilda, princess

royal of England was married to Frederick William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, and received a marriage portion of eighty thousand pounds. The prince succeeded his father in the dukedom that same year. He had married, in 1780, the eldest daughter of the duke of Brunswick, whom he was compelled to leave at Petersburg, whilst he joined the army; and at his return, on account of certain reports of her imprudent conduct, the empress retained her in Russia. She was sent to the castle of Lhode, where she was confined eighteen months, at which period, it was stated, she died of a hæmorrhage.

The repeated victories of the French over the Austrians induced the emperor to submit to a peace, so that Britain was now the only unsubdued power of the enemies of France; and the latter conceived the notion of combating her on her own element, the ocean. For this the navy of Spain and Holland were put in requisition by the French. Admiral Jervis encountered the hostile fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and obtained a complete victory. Admiral Duncan was equally successful over the brave Dutch commander, de Winter, in the battle of Camperdown.

An insurrection in Scotland, arising from the error of the peasantry, who mistook the militia act to be a press act, was soon quelled, the principal rioters escaping punishment by flight. Another attempt by lord Malmesbury to treat with the French for peace having failed, on account of the unreasonable demands of France, the people of England were unanimous in their endeavours to support a continuance of the war. Hitherto the taxes had been levied on articles of luxury: under present difficulties, Mr. Pitt proposed an additional assessment which would affect persons only according to their income, and voluntary contributions also were received for the use of the state.

A knowledge that the French meditated an invasion of England roused the energies of the whole kingdom; so that, seeing how fruitless would be the attempt, France turned her arms to other conquests. Buonaparte, at the head of a formidable armament, to which he added men of

s, some of great literary talents, and every kind of artists, and from Toulon in May, and proceeding to the island of Malta, the castle, with the knights of St. John, surrendered to him. About the 8th of July, he disembarked his extraordinary squadron at Alexandria. A fleet, commanded by Lord Nelson, had been some weeks in pursuit, when, meeting the enemy in the bay of Aboukir, close to the coast, a severe engagement took place, in which the English gained a great and glorious victory; and the gallant commander, Nelson, was rewarded with a peerage and a pension. At the same time, Minorca surrendered; with very little resistance, to general Stuart and commodore Duckworth.

In the East, the British power was firmly established by the taking of Seringapatam, in which Tippoo Saib was

On the evening of the 15th of May, a person named James Hatfield levelled a horse-pistol at the king, at the moment he entered his box in the theatre: providentially, the direction of Hatfield's arm was raised by a person near him, so that the ball merely marked the top of the canopy over the box, and recoiled into the orchestra below. Hatfield was tried,

and being proved that he was subject to mental derangement in consequence of wounds in the head, he was sent to a house of safe confinement.

The union with Ireland had been proposed in the preceding session in the British parliament, which was found to be extremely obnoxious to the legislature of the sister kingdom. The subject now went through a formal discussion in the British parliament, in consequence of a request from the lords of the Irish parliament, that they would take the measure into consideration.

Mr. Grattan exerted his great abilities so forcibly against it, that Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the exchequer, charged him with disloyal feelings towards the government. The conversation caused a duel between the two gentlemen, in which five shots were exchanged, and Mr. Corry was wounded in the arm. After much opposition, and a motion by Mr. John Parnell, to petition for a new parliament, which was overruled, the articles of the Union were sanctioned in

both houses, and presented to the king in an address from the lord lieutenant. The royal assent to a legislative union of Ireland with England was signed on the 2nd of July, to take place on the 1st of January, 1801. Four spiritual lords, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight temporal peers for life, were to sit and vote in the House of Lords; and one hundred commoners in the House of Commons, as the representatives of Ireland, in the parliament of the United Kingdom.

Sir Sydney Smith was at this time employed in watching the movements of Buonaparte at Jaffa : it is stated that the French general ordered above three thousand of the garrison to be marched to a rising ground, one mile from the town, where, on a given signal, his infantry fired upon them. From the accumulation of the dead bodies of these victims, the plague ensued; and the hospitals became filled with those infected by this dreadful disorder : five hundred and eighty soldiers were at that time ill, and to these he caused poison to be administered. So stands the circumstance, as recorded by the historians of that period\*, but which has been differently represented by the late biographers of Buonaparte.

Sir Sydney Smith, in conjunction with the Turkish fleet, made a powerful resistance to the French, and forced their retreat from St. John d'Acre. The French government having involved itself in difficulties, Buonaparte made a secret determination to leave his army under the command of generals Kleber and Dessaix, and, with a few favourite officers, he left the road of Aboukir, reached Ajaccio in Corsica, on the 1st of September, and proceeded to Paris, where he displaced the Directory, and assumed the title of First Consul. The first act of his consulship was the offer of a pacific negotiation with Britain, which was answered by requiring the restoration of monarchy; and that being refused, the war continued. The consul accompanied his troops against the Austrians, and trusting to the effect of romantic feeling, was at the expense of feeding his soldiers on the mountain of Great St. Bernard : having with difficulty

\* Adolphus's History of France, Sir Robert Wilson, and Dr. Wittman.

ed up the artillery to the top, the men found tables  
l, as if by magic, with a plentiful supply of viands and  
of which they all partook.

the 1st of January, a royal proclamation announced  
yle and titles of the king of the United Kingdom of  
Britain and Ireland. On the 3rd, his majesty's council  
he oaths as privy councillors for the United Kingdom  
at Britain and Ireland. The great seal was defaced,  
e king presented the lord chancellor with a new one,  
for the union. On the 11th, Mr. Pitt resigned his  
on of first minister. He had pledged himself, in case  
on was not frustrated by the Irish legislature, to obtain  
ipation to the Catholics, by a repeal of the disabilities le-  
ending over that body of his majesty's subjects. On pro-

this subject in the cabinet council, he found his wishes  
ed by the fears of the clergy of the established church,  
e dislike entertained by the Protestants of Ireland to  
ter a Catholic magistracy. The king also had been  
ced to oppose the measure; and Mr. Pitt, finding  
e had not the power of acting as he thought best for  
olic benefit, considered it his duty to retire from office,  
as accompanied by his colleagues, after subduing a  
al opposition with which he had contended during  
en years.

Addington, the intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, was ap-  
l first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the  
uer; lord Eldon received the office of lord high chan-

lord Hawkesbury was made secretary of state for the  
department, and lord St. Vincent first lord of the  
lty. The people of Ireland not finding the result of  
ion such as they expected, were in a very turbulent  
and martial law was continued by statute.

sudden death of Paul, emperor of Russia, who, it has  
uthentically said, was strangled in his palace by order  
nt Zontoff, caused a change in foreign affairs. His  
son, Alexander, ascended the throne, and renouncing  
itics of his father, entered into a treaty of reconciliation  
ingland. In consequence of a misunderstanding b

tween general Kleber and sir Sydney Smith, fresh reinforcements were sent to Alexandria under lord Keith and sir Ralph Abercrombie; the latter died in the arms of victory, at the battle of Alexandria.

The new administration employed themselves in adjusting the preliminaries of peace, which, when the terms had been agreed upon, reinstated the parties in nearly the same situation as when they began the war; England reserving, of all her acquisitions, only the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. When the subject was named in the parliament, Mr. Sheridan declared "It is a peace of which every man is glad, but of which no man is proud." The treaty was signed at Amiens, on the 27th of March, by the following plenipotentiaries. On the part of the French republic, Joseph Buonaparte; of Great Britain, the marquis Cornwallis; of Spain, Don Azara; of the Batavian republic, baron Schimmelpennick.

This year Buonaparte re-established the Roman Catholic religion in France, under the sanction of the pope; and having by this, and other arrangements, gained the popular voice in his favour, he was appointed consul for life, with the power of naming a successor. On this occasion, he instituted a republican order of nobility,—the legion of Honour,—to be conferred on military men as a distinction, and to citizens who rendered themselves eminent for talents, knowledge, or the administration of justice.

On the 17th of November, general Andreossi, ambassador from the French republic, was introduced to the king at St. James's. On the 18th a different scene presented itself. Sir Richard Ford, having obtained information of a conspiracy held at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth, went to Union Hall to examine colonel Despard, and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers, who had been all seized by warrant, at the above place, under a charge of conspiring the death of the king. The colonel was committed to the county gaol in Surrey. The others were sent to Cold Bath Fields and Tothill Fields prisons. The colonel was afterwards examined by the privy council, being so heavily ironed, that he walked

he coach with great difficulty. He was taken strongly to Newgate, and underwent his trial on February, 1796, before Lord Ellenborough, when the jury pronounced him guilty, and he suffered the sentence of the law.

At the meeting of parliament in November, intimation was given that the peace was not likely to continue, in consequence of disputes respecting Malta. According to the treaty, Malta was to be given up to the Knights of St. John, and neutrality was to be guaranteed by Great Britain, France, Spain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia; its ports to be open to all nations, except the states of Barbary. The Knights refused to give up Malta, until a sufficient guarantee should be given for its independence.

On the 18th of May, war was proclaimed against France. The British government resolved on the invasion of Hanover, to indemnify France for the retention of Malta. The French troops overpowered the Hanoverians, who made a brave defence, but could not withstand their numbers, and the electorate of Hanover was compelled to yield. Volunteer associations were formed throughout England, which produced an aggregate of three hundred thousand men. At this time a rebellion appeared in Ireland, which had for its object to form an independent Irish republic. Mr. Robert Emmet was at the head of this rebellion. As he was proceeding with his followers through the streets of Dublin, they met a carriage containing the venerable lord Kilwarden and his wife, whom the rioters dragged out of the carriage and murdered; having first made way for the escape of his son, who was with him. This rebellion was soon suppressed: Emmet and six others, suffered the sentence of the law for treason.

The British captured St. Lucie, Demerara, and other islands in the West Indies, and compelled the French troops to evacuate the colony of St. Domingo. In the East, they achieved greater triumphs under the administration of Lord Maitland. In the session of November, acts passed



to continue the suspension of the *habeas corpus* partial law in Ireland.

On the 12th of May, Mr. Addington resigned, and Mr. Pitt returned to office, as his successor, with lord Grenville and his friends, with the exception of Mr. Fox. In effect, that exclusion, lord Grenville refused Mr. Pitt, and the country was disappointed in the expectation that it would be united in the same cause. Mr. Pitt, lord Grenville, and Mr. Fox. The change was only partial. Lord Grenville passed from the foreign to the home department; lord Castlereagh was made president of the board of control; Mr. Canning, treasurer of the navy; Mr. Huskisson, secretary to the treasury.

In the month of March, the arrest and murder of d'Enghien, under a pretended accusation that he was in a conspiracy lately discovered, which affected the consul, caused a sensation of horror throughout Europe. The prince had served in the emigrant army of the Rhine when it was disbanded, retired to Ettenheim, from whence he was hurried to Paris, and then to Vincennes. Having undergone a mock trial, he was buried in the wood of Vincennes, and buried in the castle.

This year, Napoleon Buonaparte was created emperor of the French. He sent for the pope to be present at his coronation. Dessalines, a Negro chief of St. Domingo, assumed the title of emperor of Hayti.

The campaign in the East was attended with success. The marquis Wellesley was desirous to return to India, and only waited the arrival of the marquis Cornwallis to succeed him in the government. Mr. Addington received the honour of the peerage, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth: he was made president of the council. He brought several friends in with him. The session opened in January, with intelligence that his majesty had received a letter from Buonaparte, ending with these words:

is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it; reason is sufficiently powerful to discover means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides." The king replied, in a note from lord Minto to Talleyrand, that he was ready to take the first opportunity to make such a peace as would secure the future tranquility of Europe. The home attention was greatly engrossed by Whitbread's accusation of Henry Dundas, lord Melville in his situation of treasurer of the navy; there being a deficiency of money in that department amounting to six hundred and seventy-four thousand pounds. Lord Melville resigned his office at the Admiralty, and Mr. Alexander Murray, the navy paymaster, who, it was evident, had embezzled some of the money, was dismissed. In consequence of a threat from France to dispute with England the dominion of the ocean, lord Nelson sailed in pursuit of the French fleet, which had succeeded in quitting, unperceived, the harbour of Toulon. After some months of fruitless search he descried it off Cape Trafalgar. A most desperate engagement of the two fleets took place; the conflict continued with unabated fury during four hours, and ended in a decisive victory. The English took nineteen ships of the line from the French commander Villeneuve, and two Spanish ships; but England lost her intrepid hero, Nelson. He received a mortal wound from a musket shot, of which he died, in the moment of victory, when the enemy's flags were striking around him.

Naparte, at the head of his troops, entered Vienna, and the allies obtained a victory at Austerlitz, in which the allies were so much numbers, that the wounded were not all dressed in two days. Austria purchased a peace on very humiliating terms, and the emperor Alexander withdrew his troops from the assistance of Francis.

Pitt's health was in a declining state, so that he was obliged to relinquish his share of public business, and try the air and quietness of Bath, from which place he returned in January, but his health was no way improved. His illness appeared to increase from the disappointment he experienced

perienced in the failure of the coalition formed between Britain and Russia, to employ by subsidies the different powers of Europe against the dominion of the French on the continent. Mr. Pitt expired on the 23d of January, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

Respecting the character of Mr. Pitt, as far as the present results of his long administration allow us to decide, we cannot but lament that his extraordinary talents should have drawn him so early into public life, before experience had ripened his judgment; and attribute the unpropitious consequences of some of his greatest undertakings to that cause. His comprehensive genius was fertile in projecting plans, which, to use his own phrase, *existing circumstances* prevented him from being able to execute.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### GEORGE III. (CONCLUDED.)

A NEW administration was now formed by lord Grenville, with the advice of Mr. Fox. Lord Erskine was made lord high chancellor; earl Fitzwilliam, lord president of the council; Mr. Sheridan, secretary at war; and Mr. Fox, secretary of state for foreign affairs. Overtures on the part of France were again proposed; but as they were not satisfactory, the offer was rejected. Sir Arthur Pigot, the attorney-general, brought in a bill to prohibit the exportation of slaves from the British colonies; and to prevent his majesty's subjects from being in any way accessory in supplying foreign countries with slaves after the 1st of January, 1807, which passed with little opposition.

On the 29th of April, lord Melville's trial commenced in Westminster-hall, and ended in his acquittal.

The Russian minister having prematurely signed a preliminary treaty with France, without consulting the English cabinet, the emperor Alexander refused to ratify it; and

remained in their former state. The French were in their war with the Prussians. Louis Buonaparte, by his brother, king of Holland; and a step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, married a princess of Italy and was declared successor to the kingdom of Italy. A rebellion at this period broke out in Hayti (the St. Domingo). Dessalines was killed by the French and Christophe appointed chief of Hayti. In 1795, the marquis Cornwallis died on his way to take the command of the army; and lord Minto was named to the post. At home, the state of Mr. Fox's health greatly alarmed his friends; his disease, the dropsy, made rapid progress and this great statesman died at Chiswick, on the 13th of September, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. In the latter part of Mr. Fox's parliamentary career, he often sacrificed principle with his political interest, in a manner which rendered him obnoxious to the sovereign; but as his mind became matured, his language grew less intemperate. Through the whole system of his politics, two objects directed his efforts: the desire to stop the effusion of blood and a wish to restrain the profuse expenditure of the money. He had the happiness to witness, in his administration, the final abolition of the slave trade; and lived with the prospect of a general peace, as negotiations with France were then pending, which, however, in a few years after, ended in disappointment. The remains of Mr. Fox were deposited near those of his political opponent, Henry Addington, in Westminster Abbey.

A court-martial was held on general Whitelocke, who was found guilty and declared unworthy of future employ in his service, for unskilfulness in his mode of attack on, and the evacuation of Buenos Ayres.

Provisions had been prepared, in a bill, for opening the posts in the navy and army to the Catholics. His majesty, having seen the arrangement drawn up by lords Howick and Howick, returned it without comment; and it was sent to Elliott, the secretary in Ireland, for him to lay down to the Catholics. When, however, the king

afterwards comprehended the full extent of its provisions, he expressed his objection to it, and modifications were proposed; but on finding that the requisite alterations would render it ineffectual for its intended purpose, it was withdrawn; and at the same time a written pledge was required from the lords Grenville and Grey, that they should no more agitate the question in the cabinet; but the two nobles, thinking such a step would be derogatory to justice, and to their own honour, refused their assent, and were informed that his majesty would seek other servants. A new ministry was again formed, in which the duke of Portland appeared at the head of the treasury; Mr. Perceval was chancellor of the exchequer; lord Eldon received back the great seal; lords Castlereagh, Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning, were made secretaries for the war, home, and foreign departments; with other changes in the council. About the same time, two bills were brought in by sir Arthur Wellesley respecting Ireland: one for suppressing disturbances; the other requiring the registering of arms, and allowing magistrates to search for them.

Under a persuasion that Buonaparte was forming a maritime confederacy to close the northern ports of commerce against Great Britain, a powerful armament sailed from England to Denmark, which caused the alienation of Russia from England. The year closed with the abdication of the king of Spain in favour of his friend and ally, as he now styled the emperor of France. Murat was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom of Spain, whilst the king and queen retired on pensions into the interior of France; but the inhabitants of Madrid rose against their oppressors, and a dreadful massacre ensued. The spirit of resistance spread throughout Spain, an appeal was made to England, and Joseph Buonaparte, after residing ten days in Madrid, decamped with the regalia and crown jewels, and such other plunder as he could secure. Meantime, the British government sent an armament under sir Arthur Wellesley, to assist the Spanish patriots; and the British army, under sir John Moore, effected a retreat, after gaining a victory over the

at Corunna; but the gallant and able commander killed in the action by a cannon ball, which took away his shoulder; and was buried in a grave dug on the spot.

When the ministry found ample employment in defending the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, the public attention was attracted by Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, who chose to move (27th of January) for bringing an accusation against a system of abuse existing in the military department, and exercised by a female named Clarke, who carried on a traffic in commissions; and he moved for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the commander-in-chief.

On the 17th of March the house pronounced, on the evidence before them, the exculpation of the commander-in-chief, George of York; but his royal highness resigned his office, and was succeeded by general sir David Dundas. This was followed by charges against lord Castlereagh and Mr. Perceval in an affair with Mr. Riding, a dealer in contraband goods. Mr. Curran brought forward a bill to prevent corrupt practices and bribery at elections, which passed.

At the termination of the war occurred on the continent, Buonaparte accompanied his army. The English government, with a view to make a diversion of the French from Austria, sent an expedition to Walcheren, which proved an unfortunate undertaking, an epidemic fever at the time raging there that was fatal to thousands of the men, and of whom who survived the miseries of pestilence were compelled to evacuate the island in December. Buonaparte made peace with Austria, on the condition that he should obtain a divorce from his empress Josephine, and marry Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor. On the 10th of June, the pope, Pius VII., who the year before had excommunicated and anathematized Buonaparte for annexing the papal territories to France, was removed as a prisoner to Avignon, and deprived of the assistance of the cardinals. In England the year closed with a quarrel between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, and the resignation of both gentlemen: consequently, a change in the ministry ensued. Mr. Perceval was now made first lord

the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the marquis Wellesley succeeded Mr. Canning as secretary for foreign affairs. The king having, on the 25th of October, entered the fiftieth year of his reign, it was celebrated as a jubilee throughout the united kingdom, with every demonstration of joy, by all classes of his majesty's subjects. John Gale Jones, a well-known demagogue, and the manager of a debating society, was imprisoned for publishing a placard, which the Commons declared to be a breach of the privileges of their house: sir Francis Burdett denied the right of the House of Commons to this exercise of power, for which he was committed to the Tower by a warrant from the Speaker, and retained during the sessions.

In March, Paris presented a scene of festivity in the celebration of Napoleon's marriage with the arch-duchess Maria Louisa of Austria.

The prince royal of Sweden dying, he was succeeded by Bernadotte as heir to the crown of Sweden, who was compelled to declare war against England.

In November great fears were entertained respecting the king, who had an attack of his former afflicting malady, which was thought to have been produced by grief for the death of the princess Amelia, to whom his majesty had been most affectionately attached. On the 5th of February, 1811, the prince of Wales was appointed regent, with power to exercise the authority belonging to the crown; but the care of the royal person, and the direction of the royal household, were vested in the queen, with the assistance of a council.

The affairs of Ireland were the subject of early discussion in parliament. A committee having been formed in Dublin, consisting of delegates from each county to manage their affairs, that meeting was deemed unlawful: it, however, continued to meet, though the petitions of the Catholics were rejected by the Commons.

In August, Buonaparte was gratified by the birth of a son, to whom the title of king of Rome was given. The campaign this year commenced in the Peninsula; lord Wellington with his army advanced close on the French; lord Hill, marshal

ard, general Blake, and several other experienced, were also employed against the armies of France. s was captured by the British troops, who afterwards d the enemy at Salamanca.

rica had declared war against England ; but the contest short duration, peace being signed at Ghent by the sioners of both countries on the 24th December, 1814. aparte proceeded to Russia, where, although he met e most determined resistance from the Russian troops, ontinued to advance till he at length reached Moscow. evacuation of that city by the Russians, count Ros- the governor, fixed the following notice on one of his nd then, with his own hand, set fire to the premises. shmen, for eight years I found pleasure in embellish- country retreat. I lived here in perfect happiness he bosom of my family, and those around me largely of my felicity. But you approach : the peasantry of nain, to the number of seventeen hundred and twenty beings, fly for mercy, and I set fire to my house ; we t all ; we consume all, that neither ourselves nor itations may be polluted with your presence. French- left to your rapacity two of my houses in Moscow, urniture and valuables, to the amount of half a million es. Here you will find nothing but ashes\*." Moscow nt, but the Russians still refused to treat with Buona- heir armies turned upon him ; the inclemency of the was direfully felt by the invaders, and the sufferings rench in their retreat were indescribable ; their route, might be plainly traced by the dead bodies of the ! On the 7th of December, Buonaparte left those vived the efforts of carnage, famine, pestilence, and urs of a Russian winter, under the command of and hastened to Paris.

me, Mr. Perceval proposed an addition of ten thou- ands to the queen's yearly income, on account of her expenses : further provision also was made for the es. Sir William Scott brought in a bill which greatly

\* *Bisset's Reign of George III.*, vol. vi. p. 356.



improved the ecclesiastical courts. The period for removing certain restrictions on the regency having arrived, the prince intimated a desire that a union of interests should induce lords Grenville and Grey to join the ministers in the administration of government. Those noblemen explained the impossibility of acting in unison with the present cabinet, and specified their opinion in favour of a total change in the government of Ireland, and that they should consider it their imperative duty to move for the repeal of the disabilities existing against Catholics. A refusal to this was followed by the resignation of the marquis Wellesley, who was succeeded by lord Castlereagh.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Perceval was assassinated on entering the lobby of the House of Commons by a man named Bellingham, who suffered the sentence of the law for the offence.

In the necessary arrangements of an administration, the policy maintained towards Ireland formed the source of objection to the former friends of the prince. A bill passed appointing a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine cases, but that they should not be enrolled until signed by the lord chancellor.

A discussion on the catholic claims, in consequence of a bill brought in by Mr. Grattan, which was read twice, and carried a majority in its favour, but was rejected in its progress through the committee.

A renewal of the East India Company's charter was granted for twenty years, from the 20th April, 1814.

In the Peninsula Wellington continued to be victorious. The French were severely beaten at the battle of Vittoria, and a congress was held at Prague with the hope of a pacific arrangement; but finding Buonaparte resolved not to make any sacrifice for the peace of Europe, the emperor of Austria formed an alliance with Russia and Prussia, and the war was renewed with so much success on the part of the allied powers, that Buonaparte hastily crossed the Rhine on the 7th of November, and went to Paris on the 9th.

The allied sovereigns fixed their head-quarters at Frankfort.

the prince of Sweden restored Hanover to England, the revolution in Holland gave back those states to the house of Orange. On the 1st of December a declaration of the allied sovereigns stated the terms on which they would treat with France. These terms were refused, and Napoleon again placed himself at the head of his army: his operations were continued with increased spirit until the allies evacuated the gates of Paris. A flag of truce then asked a cessation of arms, and the following day the victorious French entered the capital.

On the 4th of April Buonaparte abdicated the throne of France and accepted the sovereignty of the island of Elba. His consort, Maria Louisa, were given the duchies of Placentia, and Guastalla, and she was conducted to the Emperor of Austria. At Paris a constitution was framing in the acceptance of Louis XVIII.

On the 28th of April Buonaparte embarked at Frejus, on the *Undaunted*, an English frigate, commanded by Usher, and proceeded to Elba. On the 24th the king embarked at Dover, and was joyfully received by the British. On the 30th of May peace was concluded between France and the allied powers.

In the early part of 1815 the lord chancellor introduced a bill to extend the trial by jury in civil causes to Scotland, which was passed into a law. Before the session closed, intelligence arrived of Buonaparte's return to France during the absence of sir Niel Campbell, who was appointed to reside in France as British commissioner. Buonaparte sailed on the 26th of May from Porto Ferajo, on board the *Inconstant*, with him about nine hundred men; he landed at Cannes and in eighteen days reached Paris, from whence the royal princes had retired to Lyons. Buonaparte then raised a large army, against which the duke of Wellington, and the allied powers, were soon in motion. On the 15th of June the armies were in action at Charleroi; on the 16th was fought the battle of Ligny, and on the 18th the famed battle of Waterloo took place, the principal features of which, and its

victorious conclusion, are too well known to need any detailed account here. The immediate consequence of this great victory was the successful invasion of the French territory by the allied troops, and the surrender of Paris, the second time, on the 3d of July. Louis XVIII. made his second entry into his capital on the 8th of the same month, and Napoleon endeavoured to effect his escape to America; but the coasts being well watched by the British fleets, he surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*. When Buonaparte went on board the *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland informed him that all he could promise was to convey him and his suite to England, to be received in such manner as the prince regent should deem expedient. The British government determined, in concert with the allies, that he should be conveyed to St. Helena, there to reside as a state prisoner, under the direction of commissioners from each of the confederate powers. On the 10th of August, Buonaparte was removed to the *Northumberland*, which sailed on the 15th for the place of his captivity.

At home a grant of thirty-five thousand pounds per annum was made to the princess of Wales, it being agreeable to the prince that his royal consort should make a continental tour.

In June, the monarchs of Russia, and Prussia, attended by marshal Blucher, the hetman Platoff, prince Metternich, and several other foreign generals, visited England. They were received with munificent hospitality by the prince regent, and with enthusiastic joy by the people.

The duke of Wellington returned, and on the 29th of June, took his seat in the House of Lords, when his several patents of baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, were read. The sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted by the country to purchase an estate suited to his merit and his dignity; also an addition of salary, which made his parliamentary allowances seventeen thousand pounds per annum, and in the following year, an additional grant of two hundred thousand pounds was made to him; while pro-

ate honours were conferred on his companions in

ver was raised to the rank of a kingdom. On the

December, the duke of Cambridge opened the diets  
States there, as representative for the prince regent.

Pius VII. returned to Rome, which event he signa-  
restoring the order of the Jesuits.

On the 27th of June, the marriage of the duke of Cumber-  
with the relict of the prince of Salms Braunsfels, was  
ced to parliament.

In consequence of several petitions, the property tax was  
L this session. On the 2nd of May, the princess  
te, daughter of the prince regent, was married to his  
highness prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg. This being  
once of affection, the union was a subject of joy to the

An annual sum of sixty thousand pounds was voted  
eir establishment; the whole to be continued to the  
as, should the prince die first, and fifty thousand pounds  
continued during his life, in case of his being the  
ior.

July, the princess Mary was married to her cousin the  
of Gloucester, but no application was made to the  
purse on the occasion. The trial of count Lavalette  
litating the usurpation of Buonaparte, excited general  
t: being found guilty of treason, he was condemned,  
e night previous to his expected execution, he found  
to escape in his wife's apparel; and, assisted by sir  
: Wilson, captain Hutchinson, and Mr. Bruce, escaped  
Netherlands. For that offence, the latter gentlemen  
mprisoned three months in Paris.

unlooked for event of the death of the princess Char-  
oburg, in November 1817, will be handed to posterity  
of peculiar interest and regret. This personage, to  
the country looked with the most cheering hopes, was  
ad from a state of apparent happiness, a few hours  
the birth of a still-born son. Her youth, her station,  
ore than all, her humane consideration for all around  
ndered her loss a subject of national grief.

only be filled up by one of her uncles, who were busy in forming suitable alliances, and took place in the following year.

In April, the duke of Cambridge was married to the princess Elizabeth of Hesse Cassel; the princess Elizabeth of Hesse Hombourg; and in July, the duke of Kent, with the widow of the late prince of Wales, sister of prince Leopold Coburg; and the duke of Clarence, with the princess of Saxe Meiningen, about the same time.

In the autumn, a congress of the European powers was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in which it was decided to draw the allied army from France.

On the 17th of November, the queen died after a long and severe illness, and the duties of the royal household devolved on his royal highness the prince of Wales.

Mr. Grattan presented eight Roman Catholic petitions, in favour of the Catholic cause. He exerted his usual energy during a warm debate on the subject; but his arguments were strong and powerful, and lord chancellor, and lord Liverpool; and the result of the petitions was negative.

Mr. Tierney, a talented member of the opposition, presented a petition from the

## GEORGE III.

appointed at Mentz, with authority to punish political  
 ers.

ings, professing for their object a radical reform of the  
 ment, were now very frequent in England, and the  
 declaimed on its necessity, and discussed all poli-  
 ent with unrestrained freedom. The inhabitants of  
 ghnam had deputed sir Charles Wolseley to act as their  
 tive in parliament; and at Manchester it was in-  
 to follow up the plan. A meeting was called for  
 pose on the 16th of August, and sixty thousand  
 were assembled in an open space, called St. Peter's  
 when a troop of yeomanry cavalry approached with  
 swords, and, apparently indifferent as to the conse-  
 s, rode over some, and wounded several, so that a  
 tragical result was produced. Many petitions to the  
 regent, praying for inquiry into the conduct of the  
 easter magistrates were presented, and great dissatis-  
 prevailed throughout the kingdom, until other events  
 ed the attention of the people.

ports that the bodily health of his majesty declined, led to  
 ar of his dissolution; and the death of the duke of Kent  
 a very short illness, brought on by a cold, caused uni-  
 l regret. His royal highness died at Sidmouth on the  
 of January, 1820, and left a daughter named Alexandrina  
 oria, who was born May 24th, 1819. In the same year  
 were born, March 26th, prince George William, son of the  
 e and d, duchess of Cambridge; and on June 27th, prince  
 orge, son of the duke and duchess of Cumberland. On the  
 h of January, 1820, his majesty, George III., expired at  
 Windsor, in the sixtieth year of his reign, aged eighty-one  
 ars. He was buried in St. George's chapel, Windsor.  
 The death of the venerable monarch revived the gener-  
 acknowledged his virtues, and his exertions for the  
 happiness of his subjects, as long as reason maintained its  
 seat in his mind. That the mental faculties should be  
 abated of their strength, was no matter of surprise to those  
 who reflected on the difficulties with which the king had to

surrounded from the time of his accession to the throne; difficulties, which the talented men of that period tended rather to increase than to lessen, from their difference of opinion on almost every subject of importance. The ministerial and the opposition parties were frequently equal in strength of talent; and only unequal in power, from the accidental occurrence of political interests.

During the reign of his majesty, George III., the royal branch of the house of Stuart, the immediate descendants of king James II., became extinct\*. As it probably may be interesting to the youthful reader to learn something of that unfortunate family, it is intended here to give such information respecting them, as could be gleaned from authentic documents in the British Museum, and from a perusal of the interesting life of James II., which our present gracious sovereign has permitted his biographer, the reverend J. S. Clarke, to publish from the original Stuart manuscripts in Carlton house, obtained by his majesty when prince regent.

As nothing relating to the descendants of James is mentioned in other histories of England after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it may be well to follow the Pretender from that period, when he was ignominiously expelled from France. Previous to prince Charles's return to his father at Rome, he paid a visit to England in 1750. Having landed at the Tower stairs, he examined the building, and observed to colonel Bret, who accompanied him, "*qu'il etait tres-facile*

\* Sir John Dalrymple, in a large company, at the earl of Hardwicke's, in June 1796, speaking on historical subjects, assured sir Nathaniel Wraxall, that the princess Sophia, mother of George I., was warmly attached to the family of James. That in the chest in Kensington palace, from which the state papers were taken, he saw a bundle of letters marked in king William's own hand-writing, "Letters of the electress Sophia, to the Court at St. Germain's:" that he read them, and found that she favored the interest of James II., in opposition to that of William. Having communicated what he found to lord Rochford, who had procured the king's permission to have the papers examined, and published, sir John asked what he should do with these? To which lord Rochford replied; "Publish them, by all means, Jack," and it was intended they should have been published; but that lord Rochford, on re-considering the matter, asked for them to be given back, that he might submit the perusal of them to the king. No mention was afterwards made of them.



*faire sauter la porte avec un petard\*.*" He lodged at Betty Primrose's, in Clarges-street; and during a stay of fifteen days in London, met about fifty of his adherents in the evenings in a house in Pall-mall, under a belief that the government was entirely ignorant of his presence in England. Lord Captain Holker, who afterwards accompanied him on his secret visit in 1760, said, that the ministers were fully aware of the Pretender being in London at that time, but that it was prudent to feign ignorance. Besides that they felt a doubt in the loyalty of the English people to the establishment of the protestant succession, the lower classes of the nation were scarcely certain of the existence of prince Edward †, as the duke of Cumberland had, after the battle of Culloden, brought along with him in his carriage the sword of Roderick Mackenzie, which had been given him for his valor at Charles, and which he considered a welcome present from the English government. In order to identify it, Mr. Johnstone, who had been the prince's valet, and was waiting for execution among the rebel prisoners at Carlisle, received a pardon, on his promise that he could prove the authenticity of the sword, and he commenced his journey to London for that purpose; but a most severe illness detained him so long on the road, that the head had acquired the most putrid smell, and the features were not discernible at the time of his arrival.

It was long before all doubts were removed as to the survival of the young Pretender in France. From London he returned to his father, and at a masquerade ball in the following year, he described the metropolis of England as a very fine place, and added, "God has not preserved me from so many dangers to no purpose: I shall still sit upon the throne of England."

On the 2d of January, 1766, James Edward Francis, the only survivor of the children of James II., died at Rome. In England he went by the name of the Pretender; in foreign countries he bore the title of chevalier de St. George, having been invested with the order of the knights of St. George at

\* Correspondance interceptée, p. 100

† Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone.



four years of age by his father, king James. The countenance, taken after his death, at Rome, more exactly resembled the features of his father. He left by his consort princess Clementina Sobieski, who had some time dead, two sons: Charles Edward Louis, 31st December, 1720; and Henry Benedict, born 6 March, 1725.

The body of the chevalier, after lying five days in state in his own palace, was carried in grand funeral procession to his parish church, the church of the holy Apostles, where it was placed on a bed of state, illuminated by eleven hundred wax lights, and having over it the following inscription: "JACOBO MAGNE BRITANNIE REX ANNO MDCCLXVI." Here a solemn requiem was performed, which was attended by the whole court: but the pope was prevented officiating by a cold that confined him to his chamber.

On the third evening the body was conveyed on the bed of state to the church of St. Peter, where the obsequies were again performed, and it was deposited in the vault. The chevalier bequeathed his property in France to his eldest son Edward, and divided the jewels and plate he possessed between him and his brother, the cardinal. The jewels, which had belonged to James II., consisted of a collar of St. George, set with diamonds; two medals of that order, one set with diamonds, the other with rubies and diamonds; also a medal of the order of St. Andrew, set with diamonds.

In addition to these, prince James Sobieski sent in his own lifetime to his two grandsons, Charles and Henry, sons of prince James and his consort princess Maria Clementina Sobieski, all his jewels, which were of great value, and with them others which had belonged to the crown of Poland; the celebrated ruby is particularized, which was given to the great John Sobieski by the republic of Holland, as security for the payment of a sum of money within a limited period, and which from lapse of time could not be redeemed.

The Italian government, immediately following the death of the son of James II., issued an order forbidding any person giving the title of king to the young chevalier, or paying him

sovereign honours. The French government, however, lived it good policy to treat him *privately* as an injured man; whilst publicly they offered him many indignities. He became their tool, and was called from his retirement in 1770, as a watchword to create alarm in the English cabinet, and then sent back at their pleasure to brood on his disappointment, until the interest of France again used his name to aid its intrigues.

That the young chevalier should have allowed his misfortune to have become the sport of France, must be attributed to want of firmness which was ever reckoned among the constitutional frailties of this unfortunate family. In no instance can it be ascertained that the late count Albany (that was the name by which he desired to be distinguished after the death of his father) ever assumed, in his own person, the shadow of sovereignty. The author of "Correspondance Intérieure" mentions having read several letters addressed to him by the Bostonians when at war with England, soliciting him to place himself at their head, which he declined to notice; and stated that, in 1786, when his misfortunes led him to employ his natural daughter to draw up a petition respecting unpaid claim of a large sum settled by the English government on his grandmother the queen of James II., which petition was forwarded through the duke of Dorset to Mr. Pitt\*, he declined naming it to the king, but which claim the king was advised by counsel to bring before the court of the Bench, — when the count Albany, and his brother, the duke of York, were consulted, both required the subject to be dropped; so far was it from their wish to disturb the peace of the English cabinet.

In the intrigues of France, the late count Albany married the young princess of Stolberg. She was the granddaughter of Thomas Bruce, in whose person the title of earl of Ailesbury became extinct, and was related to the English earls of Richmond and Chandos. With this lady, the French government, through the duc d'Aiguillon, promised a pension of fifty thousand livres, which money was

never paid. In 1774, the count and countess Albany changed their residence from Rome to Florence, in consequence of the indignities offered by pope Clement XIV., who not only deprived count Albany of the ornamented canopy over his box in the opera-house, which he had occupied since the death of his father, but also stopped the sum which had been paid annually from the treasury of St. Peter.

The count's union with the princess Stolberg was not happy: there was no issue from this marriage, and they were frequently separated. The countess spent a good deal of her time in Rome, where she was very kindly received by her uncle, the cardinal; and the count had his natural daughter with him, to whom he was greatly attached. She was his daughter by his mistress, Miss Walkinshaw, and had been educated in a convent at Paris, by the name of lady Charlotte Stuart; but latterly her father distinguished her as duchess of Albany.

On the 1st of December, 1783, the count received a visit from the king of Sweden, whose influence he requested with the court of France, to pay the pension promised at his marriage, but which was disregarded. The count was dangerously ill in 1784, upon which occasion his brother, the cardinal, came to Florence, to render him the offices of affection and the comforts of religion, and had the pleasure to see him recover. He publicly acknowledged his natural daughter, and said she should inherit his property.

In the following year the count died at Florence, and his remains were conveyed, on the 3d of February, to his brother's episcopal palace at Frescati. On that occasion the cardinal officiated; and such was his deep affliction, that it was with difficulty he performed the solemn service. The count's daughter survived her father only one year; she died at Bologna, in 1789. The estates in Poland, which the count derived from his mother, princess Clementina Sobieski, with much valuable property, devolved to the cardinal York, the brother of Charles Edward, and grandson to James II. Placid and humane in disposition, and of temperate habits, on his return to Rome, after the battle of Culloden (where he

gone against his wish, from affection to his brother.) dedicated himself to a religious life, though it was contrary to the wishes of his father and his brother. From an early period he was employed in his sacred duties: but at length the count had medals struck, bearing his head, [HENRICUS NONUS ANGLIÆ REX: on the reverse a cross, GRATIA DEI SED NON VOLUNTATE HOMINUM. George possessed one of these.

In 1796 the cardinal of York disposed of his jewels, and among them the celebrated ruby, once the property of the latter John of Arki, to enable Pope Pius VI. to make up the sum required by Buonaparte. So far, however, from this satisfying the constant demand, we find the pope, at the age of eighty, expelled from his palace in Rome by the French warriors,

and driven across the Alps into France, and on his way struggling with the ferocity of his oppressors into admiration and reverence; so that when he expected to be murdered, they were ready to fall at his feet, and the revered man was permitted to die of age and infirmity in the prison at Valence, May, 1798. At the same time cardinal York was forced to leave his residence at Frascati, by the French who took possession of what property they could find, and he, at the age of seventy-five, saved his life by flight, and arrived in France in a state of poverty. From thence cardinal Borgia, who was the organ of the government of the see of Rome during the imprisonment of pope Pius VI., wrote a letter to John Cox Hhipisley regarding his Eminence. In this letter, dated 14th of September, 1799, he states that the property of the cardinal York, which was very valuable, had all been plundered by the French; and that he had derived his support from the silver plate he was able to secure, part of which he disposed of at Messina, and was obliged to sell the remainder at Venice. Having stated these and other inconveniences experienced by the cardinal York, an order for one hundred pounds on Messrs. Ransom and Morland was immediately forwarded to cardinal Borgia, to be applied in aid of Pius VI. the conclave of cardinals was held

in January 26th, 1800 ; so that cardinal Borgia, in his next letter, dated February 26th, mentions that an English gentleman, son of sir Charles Oakley, had entered the conclave, as the bearer of a polite letter from lord Minto to the cardinal York, assuring his eminence of the royal munificence of two thousand pounds, to be repeated to his order at the end of every six months.

For this noble and spontaneous generosity of the English monarch, cardinal York conveyed his warm acknowledgments in a letter to sir John Cox Hippisley, on the 7th of May, 1810 ; and Pius VII., after his election, addressed a letter to sir John, from which the following is an extract:—

“ As Pius VI. has given so many and such manifest proofs of the high esteem he entertained for the generous English nation, and of its magnanimous and just government, and was ever solicitous to cultivate harmony and friendship, and also to demonstrate to that nation, on all occasions, his most lively attachment ; we also, pursuing the same steps, will equally make it our study to preserve with jealous care the same reciprocal good intelligence and union ; and we will not suffer (as far as lies in our power) that England should find seated in the pontifical chair of Rome another pontiff differing from him who so invariably acknowledged the kindness and friendships that England entertained for him. With respect to yourself, we shall ever take pleasure in proving to you our invariable sentiments on all occasions that may present themselves ; and we remain, with the most distinguished consideration,

PIUS P. P. VII.

“ *Venice, at St. George's, May 10, 1810.*”

The countess of Albany established her residence at the hotel de Bourgoyne, in the fauxbourg St. Germain at Paris, previously to the death of her consort. Sir N. Wraxall, describing an evening passed there, in 1789\*, says, that in one apartment there was a canopy, with the arms of Great Britain, which he thinks had belonged to the princess of Modena, Queen of James II., and that the arms were on

\* Wraxall's Memoirs of his Own Time, vol. i. p. 297-

article of plate. Sir Nathaniel mentions that the com-  
 addressed the lady as countess of Albany, but that the  
 stics practised the regal forms used to sovereigns. The  
 he also observes, were paid by the religious in the con-  
 which she visited \*. These honours were neither desired  
 ie count nor authorized by the head of the Catholic  
 h, but were rather offered as a form of courtesy,  
 i often pains the wound it is intended to heal. Pope  
 VI., finding that the superiors of the Scotch and  
 colleges had received the count Albany with regal  
 urs, issued an order of exile, from his palace Monte  
 lo, on those superiors, and they were replaced by  
 s. The countess remained in Paris until the revolution  
 elled her to quit France. She was then kindly received  
 : English court, and experienced the hospitality of his  
 ty George III.

æ cardinal York returned to Rome in 1801, and died  
 greatly beloved, in 1807. By his will, dated 1798, he  
 æqueathed his property to his relation, count Stuarton,  
 l had been secured by the French. Of all the wealth  
 Stuarts nothing remains but some family manuscripts  
 were saved from oblivion by the exertions of his  
 t majesty.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### GEORGE IV.

æg the two last years of the preceding reign the internal  
 ñment of England had been in a very disturbed state,  
 ðe operative classes were clamorous for a radical re-  
 -liament; so that at the period when George IV

The year 1786 the writer had an opportunity of witnessing those  
 the count and countess Albany entered the convent of English  
 -bourg St. Victor, when several distinguished catholics, of the  
 ert, Blount, Jerningham, and Clifford, were numbered in  
 of viewing the fair inhabitants of the convent.

proclaimed, (which event took place on the 31st of January, 1820) the people shewed evident marks of dissatisfaction; not, however, at the accession of his majesty, to whose person they were ever firmly and sincerely attached, but to the persons who had been, and still continued to be, the leaders of the administration.

The conspiracy of Thistlewood and his associates was now discovered, and the proceedings adopted on the occasion caused great divisions in the public mind. Some considered those persons to have formed a meeting for the sole purpose of discussing the grievances which pressed upon the nation, and that one Edwards, employed as a spy by government, had urged their irritated feelings by every incentive in his power, until they committed some treasonable act, the punishment of which would justify the severe measures at that time adopted by the government; whilst others really believed that a plan had been fixed to murder all the cabinet ministers. In proof of the real bad design of these men, a number of firearms, with a quantity of ammunition and various implements, were seized by the body of police, who, headed by Mr. Birnie, the magistrate, went to their place of rendezvous, a loft over a stable, in Cato-street, near the Edgware-road. Nine of the conspirators were secured; five of whom, Thistlewood, Davidson, Ings, Brunt, and Tidd, having been tried and condemned as ringleaders of a conspiracy against the lives of the ministers of the crown, and against the government, suffered hanging and decapitation on the 1st of May. No sooner had the death of the conspirators ceased to be the public theme, than the popular voice was raised at the unexpected appearance of the queen consort in London. The endeavours of ministers to prevent her stay, and the resolution they formed on her majesty's refusing to comply with the wishes of the cabinet in that matter, led to a trial, in which the sympathies of Europe were generally interested. The feelings of the English nation were so wholly absorbed by the circumstance, and the question of her guilt or innocence became a matter of such anxious inquiry, that each individual entered into the case as one in which he was personally con-

d; so that the domestic happiness of families was not  
 quently divided according to their conflicting opinions  
 is point. It has ever been a national characteristic in  
 English to protect the weak; consequently the trial of  
 queen became unpopular, and the bill of pains and pe-  
 as against her majesty was withdrawn, which the popu-  
 conceiving to be an acknowledgment of her innocence,  
 celebrated this conclusion of the business as a triumph  
 her part. Meanwhile, the accusers of the queen con-  
 d to act towards her as though she were guilty. The  
 h of the unfortunate object of public solicitude in the  
 wing year, however, considerably abated the intense in-  
 t her case had excited. It would be unjust to venture  
 positive opinion on a transaction, the real circumstances  
 rich are as yet known only to the actors in it; but when  
 - spirit shall have subsided in the lapse of time, future  
 rs may probably be able to declare the truth.

re business which chiefly occupied the attention of the  
 mons this sessions was the discussion of Mr. Brougham's  
 for the education of the poor, and the amendments pro-  
 l by sir James Mackintosh in the criminal laws, after the  
 of sir Samuel Romilly. The winter occupation of the  
 .ment was more turbulent than important, as it chiefly  
 d in contentious disputations respecting the queen's  
 s.

e house of Bourbon lost one of its immediate descend-  
 the duc de Berri, who was assassinated in June by a  
 n named Louvel. The murderer, on his trial, disclaimed  
 g any participators in the crime, and he was beheaded  
 e 7th. In the same month Ireland lost one of her best  
 s, Mr. Grattan, the contemporary of Mr. Pitt and Mr.

He had contemplated, with parental fears, that the  
 of his country with England would drain the former of  
 ternal resources by the emigration of her most wealthy  
 nfluential men. The immediate results of that act occa-  
 d Mr. Grattan to retire from public life, from whence he  
 more emerged on the accession of his present majesty,



in favour of this measure on the grounds of religious policy; and a bill was brought in for placing the Catholics on a par with their Protestants, which Mr. Peel engaged to oppose in every debate. At the commencement of the business appeared a petition from Staffordshire, signed by Dr. Milner\*, praying that the bill might not pass into law, because "it imposed restrictions on conscience."

Much interesting discussion passed on the subject. The bishops opposed it, and said it amounted to a denial of the Catholic faith. However, on a second reading in the Commons, it carried a majority of seventeen to ten. On the 3d of April it went to the Lords, where the duke of Sussex and the bishop of Exeter were in favour of it, and the duke of York opposed it on the ground of its being likely to produce serious consequences in the constitution. Prior to this time the policy of lord Liverpool, whenever emancipation for Catholics was proposed, was to quash the question by declaring, that if the Catholics obtained their desires, the Government would cease to be Protestant. The duke of Devonshire admonished of the danger, and the bill was rejected. The bishop of Norwich told them that the people were not ready for it.

been used to sleep in his campaigns ; it was afterwards placed in a leaden coffin, which was encased in one of many, and, with the sword and mantle worn by him at the battle of Marengo laid on it, was on the 9th, deposited in a tomb prepared on the spot which he had himself pointed out. By his will, by which he bequeathed a large portion of wealth, dated 14th of April, 1821. On the 14th of May his ex-ecutor, baron Gourgaud, and some others, forwarded a petition to the chamber of deputies, praying for the removal of his remains to France, but the petition was disregarded. On July 19, the princess Augusta, daughter of the duke of Cambridge, was born.

At home, the preparations for the coronation of his present majesty seemed wholly to engross the public mind, and they were conducted on the most splendid scale. The ceremony took place on the 19th of July. By the special orders of his majesty, the royal parks and places of amusement were all open ; every species of national festivity was gratuitously provided ; and such measures were adopted for security against accident, that all could enjoy their separate amusement without fear or restraint. A few days after the coronation, his majesty visited Ireland, and delighted the multitude, who gathered near the royal person on his landing, by saying with great frankness and hilarity, " Go, and do by me as I shall direct you ; drink my health in a bumper ; I shall drink all yours in a bumper of good Irish whisky." Political and religious animosities were at once forgotten, and during the short visit the people of Ireland seemed anxious only to show their loyalty and attachment to their sovereign.

In September the king proceeded to Hanover, and having remained ten days with his foreign subjects, returned to England.

Mr. Canning had taken no active part in the affairs of government during the last eighteen months, but being nominated to succeed the marquis of Hastings as the governor of India, he resolved, prior to his departure, to distinguish him-

self by an act that should render his name and memory dear to a small portion of his countrymen. On the 30th of April

he brought in a bill, in which it was proposed to admit catholic peers to sit in the house, and he eloquently alluded to the hardships of noble Catholics throwing aside their robes till another (he hoped far distant) coronation called for their being brought forth again.

Mr. Plunkett seconded Mr. Canning, and the measure was favoured by lord Londonderry; but Mr. Peel, who had succeeded lord Sidmouth as the home secretary in January, opposed it: the bill, however, passed the Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords.

In Ireland, where lord Wellesley had been well received as lord-lieutenant, the people were in a turbulent and dissatisfied state. The most opulent farmers were injured by the reduction in the price of agricultural produce: this spread through the subordinate classes; and the cultivator not finding himself able to answer the demands that were made upon him, defied the laws which imposed such inconvenient obligations.

It is but justice to the distressed Irish, to observe, that the conduct of the English government towards Ireland was more likely to increase, than to heal its wounds; since, instead of devising means by which their general condition could be improved, they sought only to stop the career of rebellion by force, without adopting any measures for their comfort. Two bills passed for this purpose: one for the re-enactment of the insurrection act; the other for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act during the next six months.

On the 10th of August, the king commenced his journey to Scotland, where he was received with every respectful demonstration of loyalty, and remained with his northern subjects nearly three weeks. During the period of his absence, the minister for foreign affairs, lord Londonderry, committed the dreadful act of suicide. The inquest on the body pronounced his lordship to have been in a state of insanity at the time. Perhaps no minister ever left a more varied character; his friends extolling him for the practice of every virtue that could adorn a statesman; whilst his opponents degraded his name with every disgraceful epithet.

Convinced that each extreme was erroneous, it must be left for future historians to ascertain the just meed of his deserts, when divested of that party spirit which still sheds its influence over such recent events. Lord Londonderry's remains were placed between those of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, in Westminster Abbey.

In October, the duke of Wellington went to the congress at Verona, to supply the place of the late diplomatist, lord Londonderry. Mr. Canning succeeded as foreign minister; not, however, without opposition from some of his future colleagues.

Considerable speculation in foreign loans was the prevailing system of this year; this species of gambling opened the money market to many adventurers, who obtained credit for a time, but a sudden fall in the value of Columbian stock, in November, was a forerunner of the reverses which followed; thousands were ruined, and a general panic was universally felt.

No material change in foreign politics came under the notice of parliament; but, in the latter end of this year, France was in a state of great internal commotion. All Europe looked to the termination of the congress of Verona, the subject of which was concealed by the most cautious secrecy, and little of the result was known when the parties who formed it separated. Spain was in a hostile position in relation to France; and Portugal was employed in carrying into effect the provisions of her new constitution.

The boundary between the English possessions in Canada, and the United States of America, was fixed at Ghent, by commissioners appointed by the two powers. After passing a month of uncertainty, respecting the nomination of a foreign secretary, the seals of that office were given to Mr. Canning, at the very time that every preparation was completed for his sailing to India, lord Amherst going out as governor in lieu of him.

On the 12th of March, a convention was signed at Madrid, for the amicable adjustment of complaints respecting the capture of British vessels and property, by the plenipotentiaries of their majesties of Great Britain and Spain; and on

the 14th of April, Mr. Canning laid before parliament the diplomatic papers relative to the negotiation on the state affairs between France and Spain. The opposition members were well inclined to vote for our interference with France, to prevent its invasion of Spain; but the country was better pleased to see England preserve a strict neutrality. Whilst France was engaged in an unfair war, for the purpose of replacing the imbecile Ferdinand on the throne of Spain, Mr. Canning was employed in planning and effectuating a beneficial change in the character of our relations with Spanish America; a change which was equally advantageous to the commerce of England, and to the independence of the South Americans; while the people of that vast territory received the most efficient aid from the exertions of lord Cochrane, who took the command of their fleets.

The cause of the Greeks excited a sympathy in the English nation, and a committee was appointed to receive subscriptions in behalf of the sufferers. Lord Byron, who used great personal exertions to aid them in recovering their independence, wrote from Genoa, to recommend the forming of an emigrant population in the Greek islands, as preferable, in point of the resources of natural luxuries, to Van Diemen's Land, and other places of English emigration.

Bills to remove certain grievances from the Catholics were again proposed, but were deferred to the following session. Numbers of petitions were presented, praying for parliamentary reform: that from Yorkshire was most remarkable; inasmuch as it contained seventeen thousand and eighty-three signatures, and was three hundred and eighty feet in length. A reduction of salary to the clerks in the government offices was adopted, with a view to lessen the public expenditure. Mr. Vansittart was raised to the peerage, as lord Bexley; and Mr. Robinson succeeded him as chancellor of the exchequer.

Some alterations took place regarding the Catholics. A person could hold a revenue office on taking the oath of allegiance, and an oath for the faithful performance of his *official* duties; a law also passed, which enabled the earl

marshal and his deputy, to exercise that office without taking the oath of supremacy, or signing the declaration against transubstantiation. An act was also passed, which reversed the attainder of lord Stafford and others: it received the king's sanction; by which the forfeited titles of the earldoms of Mar, Kenmure, and Perth, and the honours of lord Nairn, were restored to the respective claimants. A description of the Catholic association, as held in Dublin, was given in the House of Commons, but little notice was taken of it.

The consideration of the slave trade was frequently brought forward in this, and the former session. Ministers advocated a middle course; and resolutions passed in the Commons for the gradual amelioration of the condition of the slave population in the West Indies. On the 16th of September, Louis XVIII. expired. His remains were conducted with great pomp to St. Denis, and were there interred in the chapel of St. Louis. The count D'Artois succeeded to the throne, by the title of Charles X.

Lord Byron, to whose poetical genius the past glories of Greece were rendered sacred, resolved to assist that people personally by his counsels; but before he could put in execution the plan he had formed in their favour, he fell a victim, it has been supposed, to the intense anxiety he felt in their cause. He died at Missolonghi, and his remains were brought to England, to be deposited with those of his ancestors.

The credit of the nation was this year deeply affected by the disastrous results of over-speculation. Many wealthy merchants and bankers became bankrupts, and the embarrassed state of the currency occupied the attention of parliament at its opening. A consideration of the state of Ireland became next the subject of discussion. Finding it was in contemplation to restrain the Catholic Association, a great meeting of the members took place in Dublin, from which a deputation was appointed to bring their petition to England. The barristers O'Connell and Sheil exerted their eloquence with great effect; and Mr. Brougham presented the petition, which de-

clared the purity and innocence of their intentions; but the voice of the parliament was against them; and a new association was therefore formed on more general principles.

On the 23rd of March, a bill was brought in by sir Francis Burdett, for the removal of Catholic disabilities, and to propose the framing of a new oath that should be less objectionable to that body. The debates were very animated on each side of the question. The known opinion of Mr. Canning in its favour inspired the Catholics with confidence. Mr. Peel opposed the bill with his usual arguments, and when it reached the upper house, Lord Eldon delivered *his* long-cherished sentiments in a most energetic manner. Upon the whole, the subject was better received than at any former period; but on the 25th, the duke of York, feeling himself conscientiously called upon, proceeded to the house, and there, in a short and impressive speech, delivered his opinion with an earnestness and solemnity that had the greatest effect on his hearers; and the bill was lost by a considerable majority.

In the following session a committee was appointed to examine into the state of Ireland. Their report shewed that the lower classes had no certain means of employment, and were many of them living in a degraded state, without opportunities of improving their condition.

Few matters of importance occurred in the year 1826, with the exception of the treaty, signed on the 24th of February, at the conclusion of a war between the British in India and the Burmese; when lord Combermere returned to his station at Calcutta. Parliament having been dissolved, a general election took place in the autumn, and the new parliament met in November; an unusual case at that season of the year, but which was deemed necessary for the purpose of enabling ministers to grant an indemnity for the violation of the Corn Laws, which the necessities of the country had induced them to obtain, through an order in council. At this period Mr. Peel continued to exercise his talents in improving the jurisprudence of the country. Upon every question, except Catholic emancipation, the sentiments



wer were in unison with those of the foreign secretary, appeared to enjoy the full confidence of the prime

On the 1st of January, in 1827, the duke of York paid the last of nature. His complaint, the dropsy, had increased rapidly during the previous six months, as to every effort of medicine: aware of its progress, his illness inquired, and was informed, of his danger: resolved to meet the event with Christian fortitude. He sought the spiritual comforts of his church, and continued to perform the most important parts of his official duties till a few days of his death. By those whom he had known with his personal acquaintance, he was sincerely loved and by all esteemed in his capacity of commander-in-chief: for he identified himself with the welfare and the improvement of the military service; reforming many of its abuses, raising the station of the private soldier comfortable to his feelings, and respectable in the eyes of the public. Lord Wellington succeeded him in his high and important office.

On the 17th of February lord Liverpool was attacked with apoplexy, which deprived the nation of his services. The country looked to Mr. Canning as premier; but three weeks were allowed to pass without nomination. At length, in the beginning of March, Mr. Canning was pleased to advise with Mr. Canning respecting the formation of the cabinet, when the latter proposed that it should be for its basis, unanimity of opinion on the subject of emancipation; and in deference to the king, and the leading members, proposed his own resignation. He might not stand in the way of such an adjustment. He declined joining an administration such as the opposite opinions caused a division of sentiments; the king resolved that Mr. Canning, who would not be an anti-catholic leader, should be the premier. Twenty-eight hours after this determination was known, the leading ministers resigned. Upon this Mr. Canning proceeded to the king, and having submitted his views



Majesty the several resignations, said, " See here, sire, what disables me from executing your majesty's will." The king, however, acted upon his previously expressed intentions, and Mr. Canning retired from the royal presence, prime minister.

The change that followed extended to every office of any importance. The Easter recess gave time for fresh elections, and parliament opened with lord Lyndhurst, as lord chancellor; earl of Harrowby, president of the council; duke of Portland, lord privy seal; viscount Dudley, the secretary for foreign affairs; and viscount Goderich (late Mr. Robinson) colonial secretary. Political principles changed the position of the members, and the *ci-devant* opposition now formed the ministerial party.

Mr. Peel first entered upon the motives which caused his desertion of the cabinet, and assigned as a reason, the political principles which had directed his conduct during eighteen years. He professed to be the supporter of the principles of the late duke of York, and of lord Liverpool; and having recapitulated the whole period of his career, sat down with a consciousness of triumph at the applause given by his hearers to his ingenious explanation. Mr. Canning informed them, that the Catholic question was no longer to be a cabinet question, but that, nevertheless, he looked forward to its gradual and eventual success. The duke of Wellington, in defending his secession from office, disclaimed all idea of wishing to become prime minister; and declared that he should have been worse than mad had he conceived the insane notion of filling that office. Much discussion followed, in which it was suggested that deceit existed somewhere. Either the king was deceived in understanding that the Catholic question would be given up; or Ireland was deceived, in the belief that the new administration would carry the question. The archbishop of Canterbury and bishop of London declared from high authority that the king was as adverse to Catholic emancipation as his father had been.

The principal subject of parliamentary discussion was the Corn Bill, which the amendment of the duke of Wellington, in the House of Lords, caused to be a failure; it was there-

withdrawn, and a temporary act substituted. Mr. continued his exertions in reforming and improving the law. Little had been done in the house when the closed; but much vituperative language had been and many remarks had fallen from Mr. Canning, bewailed the irritable state of his feelings. He maintained the warfare nobly; but the exertion of his mind over his bodily strength, and after only four months with the storm, he expired, on the 8th of August, 1827, under the same roof in which Mr. Fox had died his last; and was buried in Westminster Abbey. It is unfair to pass any opinion on so short an administration as that of Mr. Canning; but in his former office of foreign secretary, he had ably maintained the and boldly supported the dignity, of England among nations. He was esteemed for his wisdom as a statesman and admired as the most able orator of the day; while the acrimony of his sarcastic wit was often sorely felt by his

changes took place on the demise of Mr. Canning; Lord Derinch took the reins of government into his hands, the duke of Wellington resumed the command of the army, and Lord William Bentinck went out as governor-general of India; and Lord Charles Somerset, whose conduct had rendered him obnoxious as governor, was recalled from the Cape of Good Hope. It was understood that he would be brought under inquiry in the house, but the charges which then were made against him, were not spoken of there after his

The cabinet which succeeded Mr. Canning, was formed of a mixture of jarring spirits as rendered every attempt to consolidate the powers of government inefficient. The late cabinet among its members had been few, but it wanted the men whose wisdom and talents could reconcile opposing interests. The first squabble was with Mr. Herries, the Chancellor of the exchequer, on whose department his colleagues had encroached, by appointing a chairman of the committee, without previously consulting him.

conduct, in a matter so especially under his direction, gave Mr. Herries just cause for resigning an office, which he saw it was meant he should only nominally direct. Lord Goderich, finding himself in a situation which, either through the urbanity of his mind, or the weakness of his nerves, he could not support, resigned his place of premier before the parliament met. The king, who at that moment must be said to have been in a difficult dilemma, shewed a discernment, the wisdom of which has been justified in its result. His majesty entrusted the formation of a new administration to that person, who, a few months before, had declared he should have thought himself insane, could he have wished for the office. The duke of Wellington formed an administration by collecting the seceders at the commencement of Mr. Canning's premiership, and, with the exception of lord Lyndhurst's retaining the chancellorship, it was similar to the one when lord Liverpool had the direction of its movements. The conduct of Mr. Huskisson, immediately after the cabinet was fixed, in offering his resignation, which he intended should have operated only as a threat, but which was taken in its literal meaning, shewed the judgment and decisive character of his grace; and stood as a proof to his colleagues, and to the public, that his conduct would be guided by a strict adherence to previously concerted plans. When the parliament opened on the 29th of January, the king, in his speech, regretted that his conciliatory efforts, jointly with Russia and France, to terminate the war between the Greeks and the Turks, should have been frustrated by the battle of Navarino; but hoped it would only delay, not prevent, the restoration of tranquillity to Europe. The speech, with the motion of address, was followed in the Commons by explanations from ministers; and the secrets of the cabinet, as to their conduct, were anticipated by Mr. Peel, who made it appear that the great public question of Catholic emancipation was left open to the free opinion of every member; and that the patronage of Ireland would remain, as during Mr. Canning's administration, neutral.

Mr. Peel maintained, with great earnestness, the right of

supporting independent principles, and asserted his determination never to accept of office under the promise of adhering to any particular views or interests.

The repeal of the test and corporation acts passed this session, with the form of a declaration to be used instead of the former oaths. Immediately succeeding this repeal, sir Francis Burdett made a motion for the house to form itself into a committee, to consider the state of the laws affecting Roman Catholics. A repetition of former arguments was delivered by the parties for and against the measure; and though it was lost by a majority of forty-four, the friends of the bill anticipated its future success, from the conciliatory language of the prime minister.

During the short period Mr. Canning was in power, the Catholics in Ireland were more tranquil, from a belief that he intended taking the first fit opportunity to procure the desired boon. When the duke of Wellington entered on the office of prime minister, the leaders of the association uttered violent invectives against him; they went, indeed, beyond a mere war of words; for finding the forty-shilling freeholders had a powerful influence at the county elections, they resolved, by obtaining command of the voices of this class in Ireland, to wage war against the English ministry; and they triumphed in the success of their plan. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, by accepting the office of president of the board of trade, had vacated his seat for the county of Clare, and the popular leader of the Catholic association, Mr. O'Connell, was proposed to take his place. This gentleman's unwearied perseverance was well known; his talents as an orator were most influential; and when he declared to his constituents, that he could legally sit in the House of Commons without taking the usual oaths, his professional knowledge of the law gained credit for the assertion.

Mr. Fitzgerald had always voted in favour of emancipation, and the gentleman opposed to Mr. O'Connell was in the same interest; the latter, however, was elected. The circumstance gave an importance, and an authority, to the power of the association, which, if exercised in other elec-

tions, would render their body formidable to the English government. The sentiments of Mr. Dawson, a county member, delivered at a public dinner, given in Londonderry on the 12th of August, acknowledged this power. Such language, held by the brother-in-law of Mr. Peel, who had hitherto been the firm opponent of emancipation, produced a change in the minds of those who thought the ministry averse to the measure. From this favourable omen, the agitators in Ireland formed a systematic mode of proceeding, which they pursued with unabating energy during the whole winter. In the autumn, the duke of Clarence thought proper to resign the office of high admiral. The admiralty was then put into commission, and lord Melville was again placed at the head of the board. France was occupied with many internal changes; the year had commenced with new ministers, and concluded with the expulsion of those, for others of more liberal principles.

In Portugal, Don Miguel had occupied the regency of the kingdom by the authority of his brother, Don Pedro; under a promise to maintain its laws and institutions. He visited England in the month of December the preceding year, and enjoyed the gaieties of London during two months, when he returned to Portugal. The mask which had concealed his insidious intention was soon thrown aside; his perfidious and cruel conduct caused the young queen, Donna Maria, to be sent to Europe, with an intention that she should land at Genoa, and so proceed to Vienna, to her grandfather, the emperor of Austria; but when the frigate arrived at Gibraltar, on the 2nd of September, her conductors thought it more prudent to bring her to England, where she was kindly received by his majesty and the British court.

With Spain, the English government had had no transaction, except that of vainly endeavouring to get an acknowledgment of the bonds for a loan granted by England to the Cortes, and which Spain refused to recognize. There were other claims from British individuals, amounting to upwards of three millions sterling, for furnishing the Spanish forces in their struggle with France in 1808; for which, including

losses by British subjects at sea, the different claimants, after various delays of the commissioners who were authorised to settle the business, and then by different pretexts to avoid the payment, petitioned the aid of parliament, and a convention was entered into in October, between lord Aberdeen and count Ofalia, when it was agreed to accept nine hundred thousand pounds in full of all claims, by four instalments.

The London university opened on the 1st of October. St. Catherine's docks, which were begun on the 3rd of May, 1827, and had afforded employment to two thousand five hundred workmen, were opened on the 25th of the same month.

Nothing very material occurred in the commencement of this year; but the public mind was much engrossed on the subject of Ireland, and the Catholic question. Whilst that important business was under the consideration of parliament, an unfortunate misunderstanding happened between the duke of Wellington and lord Winchilsea, owing to some misconstruction on his grace's conduct conveyed in a letter from lord Winchilsea, when he withdrew his name as a subscriber to the King's College. The affair rose out of their separate interests in politics; and a hostile meeting took place in Battersea fields, on the 21st of March, but which happily ended without bloodshed.

His majesty's speech on the opening of parliament, on the 6th of February, was read by the chancellor, and concluded in the following manner:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The state of Ireland has been the object of his majesty's continued solicitude.

"His majesty laments that in that part of the United Kingdom, an association should still exist, which is dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution; which keeps alive discord and ill-will amongst his majesty's subjects; and which must, if permitted to continue, effectually obstruct every effort permanently to improve the condition of Ireland.



“ His majesty confidently relies on the wisdom and on the support of his parliament; and his majesty feels assured that you will commit to him such powers as may enable his majesty to maintain his just authority.

“ His majesty recommends that, when this essential object shall have been accomplished, you should take into your deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland, and that you should review the laws which impose civil disabilities on his Roman Catholic subjects.

“ You will consider whether the removal of those disabilities can be effected consistently with the full and permanent security of our establishments in Church and State, with the maintenance of the reformed religion established by law, and of the rights and privileges of the bishops and of the clergy of this realm, and of the churches committed to their charge.

“ These are institutions which must ever be held sacred in this Protestant kingdom, and which it is the duty and the determination of his majesty to preserve inviolate.

“ His majesty most earnestly recommends to you to enter upon the consideration of a subject of such paramount importance, deeply interesting to the best feelings of his people, and involving the tranquillity and concord of the United Kingdom, with the temper and the moderation which will best ensure the successful issue of your deliberations.”

On the duke of Wellington's explanation (in answer to a question from the duke of Newcastle) that it was the intention of government to propose a measure for the adjustment of the Roman Catholic claims, which would extend to the removal generally of all civil disabilities under which they laboured, some noble lords declared themselves hostile to such a proceeding. Lord Eldon pronounced his opinion, “ that the moment Roman Catholics were permitted to take their seats in parliament, the sun of Great Britain would be set;” and entered into a detailed statement of the Catholic Association, in proof that further concessions would strengthen the hands of a body, that was already sufficiently powerful to disturb the peace of the kingdom. These sentiments, however, were well combated by the opinion of the marquis of

sea, who had just been recalled from the government of Ireland. He strongly pointed out the character of the association to be unconstitutional, but not illegal; and he advised passing such a bill, as should put the Protestant and Catholic subjects of these realms on an equal footing; and he then said that they should never hear again of the Catholic association. Mr. Peel acknowledged his private feelings, regarding the Catholic question, to be unaltered; but entered into a long and candid explanation of existing circumstances which, he admitted, required the immediate transaction of Ireland. The consideration of the Catholic question had been, Mr. Peel said, necessarily postponed, from time to time, on account of the position of England with respect to other countries; but during the period of the last twenty years the delay had occasioned very serious injury to Ireland, on account of the divided opinions of the members of the legislature on the Catholic question. It would be fair, he observed, that permanent resistance should arise on temporary grounds of expediency, and whilst disunion existed between the legislative bodies and the government, the best administration of the law by juries in Ireland was next to impossible. This consideration, more than any other, induced him to propose the settling the question in a way that would have the effect of calming the mind of the anxious Protestant, and of satisfying every reasonable Catholic.

Mr. Peel obtained leave to propose the suppression of dancing assemblies and societies in Ireland, which passed into law, and he obtained the royal assent on the 5th of March. The day that Mr. Peel brought forward the Catholic Relief Bill in the Commons, every avenue leading to the parliament was filled to excess; so that when the door to the Members' gallery opened, the crush was tremendous. Mr. Peel prefaced the discussion of the bill by a supplication that he would lay aside "all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections," and then entered upon the reasons which induced his present conduct. By his statement it appeared, that the measure had been delayed as long as it was possible to do so: that the actual state of Ireland now required



decision on the part of the legislature; and that a removal of the disabilities attached to Catholics had been the prayer of Ireland for the last thirty years; and though that prayer had never been fully granted, the petitioners had been so often brought within sight of the prize, and success had so often been represented as certain, that disappointment had whetted their eager desires, and was urging them to seize the gift, which it was no longer safe, or just, to withhold. It therefore became the policy of government to consider the terms of the request, that the Catholic might be satisfied, and the established religion of England secured. The first reading of the bill carried a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight. It was read a second time on the 17th, when the majority in favour of it was one hundred and eighty. On the 23rd it went to the committee; on the 30th it was read a third time, and still bore a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight.

On the following day Mr. Peel carried the bill from the Commons to the Lords, where it was read, and ordered to be read a second time on Thursday the 2d of April. The first two hours of that day were employed in receiving petitions, of which thirty-seven were presented by lord Eldon, who said he could have trebled them.

In the course of discussion, the royal dukes uttered their different sentiments on the measure. The duke of Clarence spoke in favour of the bill, as an act of justice to remove degradation from the Catholics; the duke of Sussex was of the same opinion; but their brother, the duke of Cumberland, saw the matter in a different light; his royal highness presented a petition from the Protestants in Ireland against further concession to the Catholics, the signatures to which were one hundred and sixty thousand. On that occasion he expressed his sentiments with a warmth of feeling and earnestness of purpose that shewed how truly zealous he was in his endeavours to frustrate a measure which, in his view of it, would, if persevered in, fundamentally shake the constitution of the country. On a division, the majority in favour of the second reading was one hundred and five. The Lords met

again on the 8th : adjourned debates occupied their attention till the 10th ; lord Eldon declared his continued objections to the bill in most impressive language ; and towards the close, the duke of Cumberland repeated his conscientious objections to the measure, and his royal brother, the duke of Sussex, repeated his approbation of the bill. It passed on the 10th of April, with a majority of one hundred and four, and received the royal assent on the 13th. At the same time was passed the disfranchisement bill, for the better regulation of property in the persons entitled to vote at parliamentary elections in Ireland.

The following is a list of the Catholic nobility and gentry, who are entitled to their seats in consequence of the passing of the relief bill :—

*In England.* Duke of Norfolk ; earl of Shrewsbury ; barons Stourton, Petre, Arundel, Dormer, Stafford, Clifford.

*In Ireland.* Earls Fingal, Kenmare ; viscounts Gormanstown, Netterville\*, Taafe, Southwell ; barons Trimlestown, French.

*In Scotland.* Earls Tranquair, Newburgh.

The Roman Catholic Baronets of *England* are,

Sir John Gerard, Lancashire ; Henry Tichborne, Hants ; Charles Throckmorton, Berks ; Edward Blount, Shropshire ; Richard Acton, Shropshire ; Henry Hunlocke, Derbyshire (minor) ; Carnaby Haggerston, Northumberland ; Henry Webb, Wiltshire ; Richard Bedingfield, Norfolk ; Edward Smyth, Shropshire ; Thomas Stanley, Cheshire ; Thomas Gage, Suffolk (a minor) ; Henry Lawson, Yorkshire ; Edward Mostyn, Flintshire ; Clifford Constable, Staffordshire ; Edward Vavasour, Yorkshire†.

The *Irish* Baronets are

Sir Patrick Bellew, John Burke, Thomas Esmonde, James Fitzgerald, James Nugent, Richard Nagle.

There is also one *Scotch* Baronet, sir James Gordon, Tweeddaleshire.

\* At present extinct, but in course of claim.

† This title became extinct a few years since. The honourable Edward Stourton, brother to lord Stourton, who inherited the Vavasour estate, assumed the name, and was raised to the baronetage during Mr. Canning's administration.

The principal names which have dropped off latterly, either by death or conformity, have been, Browne, lord Montagu; Roper, lord Teynham; Curzon, Acton, Mannock, Gascoigne, Fleetwood, Swinburne, Englefield, Hales; all peers or baronets.

Amongst the English Roman Catholics are many ancient families conspicuous in English history. Their present heads are mostly country gentlemen of secluded habits of life. Such are the names of Acton, of Wolverton; Anderton. Bishop; Blundel, of Ince; Bodenham; Bowden; Brockholes; Browne, of Mostyn; Blount, of Maple-Durham; Biddulph; Berington; and Berkeley. Clavering, of Northumberland; Clifton; Constable Maxwell, of Everingham; Courtney; Carey; Chichester; Chomley; Charlton; Crathorpe; Clifford; and Canning. Diconson; Doughty; Dalton, and Darrell. Eyston; Eyre; Errington; Eccleston. Fairfax; Ferrers; Fitzherbert; Fermor. Gibson; Gildebrand; Greenwood; and Giffard, of Chillington, whose ancestors saved king Charles II. at Boscobel. Hansford; Hanvers; Hyde; Hodgson; Horn-yold; Hussey; Howard; Henage; and Huddleston. Ingleby; Jones; Jackson. Langdale; Lorimer. Maire; Meneil, of Yorkshire; Middleton, of Stockheld; More; and Manby. Needham; Nevill; Nelson; Norris. Paston; Porter; Plowden. Rédel Saltmarsh Garstald, of Yorkshire; Salvin, of Durham; Scarisbrick; Scrope, of Yorkshire; Silvertop; Standish; Strickland, of Westmoreland; Stapylton, of Carlton; Stone; Stanley; Selby; and Sheldon. Tempest, of Yorkshire; Trapps; Townley; Tubeville; Turvile; Tunstall; Tasborough; and Trafford. Vaughan. Wakeman; Willoughby; Whitgreave; Whitham, of Yorkshire; Wright; and Watson.

In the beginning of the last century there were above sixty thousand Roman Catholics in the Highlands alone. With a few exceptions, most of the Gordons, Macdonalds, Mackintoshes, Macphersons, &c. were Roman Catholics: their grand and great-grand-children are Protestants. The rebellions of 1715 and 1745 effected this change, by dissolving the feudal system. The children of the gentry in general, particularly

t remotely allied to the chieftains, were dispersed, in the south, and put to business.

atholic relief bill was received with grateful joy by the body of the Catholics, who felt that their loyalty with the most gratifying mark of confidence by being on a footing with their fellow protestant subjects. Ireland herself in possession of the boon she had so long earnestly asked ; but the words of Dr. Doyle must not be forgotten : “ That emancipation would do much, but that more remained to be accomplished.” It is confidently expected that they who have laboured so ably and so successfully towards obtaining their legislative rights and privileges will continue their active exertions towards the improvement of Ireland, else their professions of loyalty will be suspected, and their pledge will be forfeited by the labouring classes of their countrymen, who have been led to consider emancipation as the certain restorer of prosperity.

THE END.

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